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YOUR TRULY ATTACHED FRIEND, MARY LINCOLN

BY CHARLES V. DARRIN

THIS article contains ten letters written by Mary Todd Lincoln which have never been published. All of them were addressed to Mrs. John Henry Shearer, who, for more than twenty years, was one of Mrs. Lincoln's closest friends. The earliest of these letters is dated April 24, 1859, and there were four during that year, one in 1860, four in 1861, and the last one was written on November 24, 1864. Thus, the period covered is that just before and just after Abraham Lincoln became President. It was when Mrs. Lincoln was busy running her household, caring for her sons, and accompanying her husband on a number of trips. She had little time for writing. Except for the last one which was dated three years after the others, these letters represent what were possibly the happiest years of Mrs. Lincoln's life. She had reached the peak of her career and had no knowledge of the suffering that lay ahead.

Charles VanValkenburg Darrin, of Wellsboro, Pennsylvania, as he explains in his article, in 1932 inherited nine letters written by Mrs. Lincoln to Mrs. Shearer. William Lincoln Shearer, youngest son of Mrs. Shearer, was given the letters by his mother. He married Margaret Levina VanValkenburg, whose sister, Mary Baldwin VanValkenburg Darrin, was the mother of the author. Since this couple had no children they made their nephew their sole heir.

The friendship between Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Shearer began in 1856 or 1857, when the latter, then a widow with two small boys, moved to Springfield to live with her sister, Mrs. Noyes W. Miner, whose home was diagonally across the intersection of Eighth and Jackson streets from the Lincolns.

Mrs. Shearer had been born Hannah Stanton Miner in 1828 in Rockville, Rhode Island, the youngest child in an old New England family. When she was eighteen she married Edward Rathbun, member of a prominent Connecticut family which had become wealthy in the tea-importing business. When Rathbun died a few years later he left his widow what was then considered a comfortable fortune, which included New York City real estate.

Not long after Mrs. Rathbun and her two sons, Edward and James Miner, moved to Springfield, there came a day when one of the boys fell into a pail of boiling water and the other had lime thrown into his eyes by a playmate. The physician who responded to the call for aid was young Dr. John Henry Shearer. After the boys had been treated and pronounced only uncomfortably injured, Mrs. Rathbun and Dr. Shearer improved their acquaintance, and on June 1, 1858, they were married.

The Shearers established their home on the northwest corner of Eighth and Jackson streets, which was very convenient for Mrs. Shearer in those pre-telephone days. Her sister, Mrs. Miner, lived across Jackson Street to the south and her friend, Mrs. Lincoln, across Eighth Street to the east. Mrs. Lincoln, however, went beyond the usual neighborly bounds to make Mrs. Shearer a favorite companion and confidante. The young doctor's wife grew to know Mrs. Lincoln better, perhaps, than did anyone else outside her family. Both women were quick tempered and they had their petty quarrels, but these were always resolved with an apology and a kiss. Mrs. Shearer was an unusually pretty woman, of medium height, with considerable grace. She possessed a fine singing

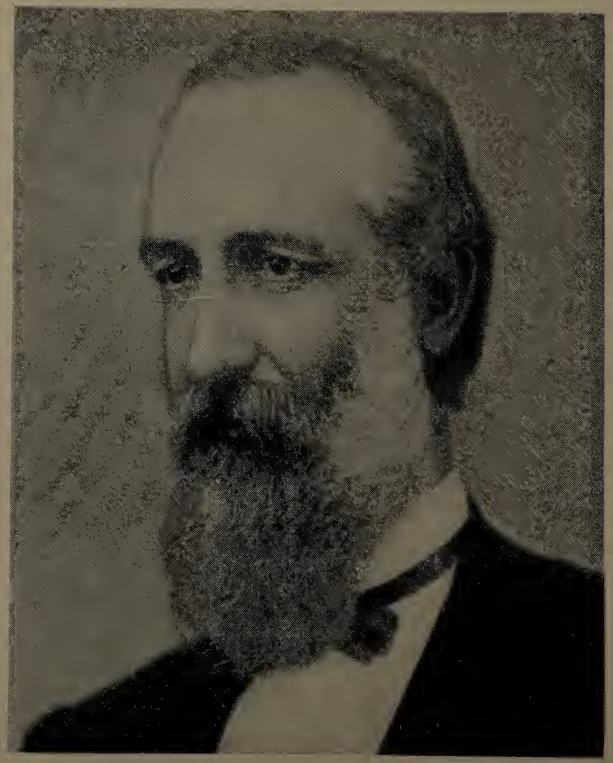
voice, a lively sense of humor, and was a fluent and witty conversationalist. Also, she was ten years younger than Mrs. Lincoln. Consequently she usually received much masculine attention at social gatherings. In fact, her popularity more than once piqued Mrs. Lincoln, but their friendship was never seriously threatened.

Dr. Shearer was an ideal companion for his vivacious wife. He was a tall, muscular, bearded man of commanding presence, but with a gentle and genial disposition. He played the piano, sang excellently, and was highly esteemed as a sportsman. Dr. Shearer was born in Pennsylvania in 1827, and, after serving in the U. S. Marine Corps during the Mexican War, was graduated from what is now Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital in Philadelphia. He had practiced medicine in Wellsboro, in north central Pennsylvania, for several years before moving to Springfield in November, 1856.

When he lived across the street from the Lincolns Dr. Shearer became friendly with the future President and accompanied him on one or more trips during the campaign against Stephen A. Douglas in 1858. Earlier that year, on April 27, the Doctor had formed a partnership with Dr. Ripley E. W. Adams, another homeopathic physician. Their office was located at the Northwest corner of Washington and Fifth streets. This partnership continued until January, 1859, when Dr. Shearer discovered that his health was threatened by tuberculosis. He and Mrs. Shearer decided to move to Wellsboro, where he believed the climate would be beneficial. Thus the Springfield association of the Lincolns and the Shearers came to an end, and then began the correspondence which produced these letters by Mrs. Lincoln.

The letters themselves were inherited by William Lincoln Shearer, third son of Mrs. Shearer, who was born in October, 1861, and who was named for the Lincolns' third son, Willie, at Mrs. Lincoln's suggestion. Willie Lincoln died in February, 1862, when he was eleven years old. William Lincoln Shearer

MRS. HANNAH SHEARER



DR. JOHN HENRY SHEARER

Mary Todd Lincoln Was Her "Truly Attached Friend."

was the present writer's "Uncle Will," who kept alive the Lincoln-Shearer association by a correspondence with Robert Todd Lincoln which lasted from 1890 to 1920.

Upon Uncle Will's death in 1932 nine of the ten letters printed below came to me. The tenth was located later in the manuscript collection of Foreman M. Lebold of Chicago. Now, unfortunately, the originals of my letters no longer exist. In 1937, on what appeared to be good advice, I placed them between sheets of cellulose nitrate. In 1946, I discovered that there was nothing left but a few sheets of badly-decomposed, foul-smelling cellulose nitrate and blank paper—powdery stuff from which the writing had disappeared. Fortunately, I had typewritten transcripts—which were complete except for the first letter. But the fragments that remain give important clues to the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln. This letter was written only a short time after the Shearers left Springfield:

[SPRINGFIELD, APRIL 24, 1859]

. . . . I suppose she took the occasion of saying this to you, when she was informed of our alienation, a *noble hearted woman*. In another world she may discover, when too late, what the fate of the liar & hypocrite is! I have always heard so much from the connections & those who were thrown in contact with *that woman*, always to avoid her. As before said, Mrs. D. mentioned this, carelessly, and allow me to assure you, that I would as soon have her to say this, as anything else, her name & *tongue* is well established. My seamstresses bear such different testimony to my *honesty* & justice, that it is a matter of unimportance & therefore, we will forever drop the subject.

Even if I had recognized her as an acquaintance, whether the person she was scandalising, had ever been or still was a friend, she would not have dared ventured such an assertion in my presence.

This is Easter Sunday, & Julia Baker's renowned "baby" is to be christened this afternoon.[1] If I felt well, I would try

[1] Julia Edwards Baker was the daughter of Ninian Wirt and Elizabeth Todd Edwards and was a niece of Mrs. Lincoln. Her husband was Edward L. Baker, editor and publisher of the *Illinois State Journal*, in Springfield.

& attend church out of compliment, perhaps I may. Mr Dubois' family and Mr Hatch,[2] took tea, with us a few evenings since, & then & there, be sure you were remembered. Mr & Mrs D[ubois] Mr H[atch] Mr L & myself are expecting to leave here in a little more than two weeks, for Council Bluffs.

. . . . Kansas about the 18th of May.[3] I hope nothing will prevent our journey. In case we go, I hope you will write so soon as you receive this. I want to hear from you before we start. There is a good deal of scarlet fever around us. Tell Ed, John Kent[4] died a week ago with it. Mrs Pascal Enoss [*sic*] is dead & buried.[5] Mrs. Matteson[6] called here on yesterday, regretted that you had left, said she had always intended calling to see you, when she became settled[7]

. . . . such a coarse picture,[8] the other looks so much better. Mr [E. J.] Ayers went on a week ago, for Mrs W[heelock] & Delia.[9] I wish they would take the next house[10] which is still untenanted. My heart aches when I think of you, away from us, dear one. The first ride I take, I am going to stop to see your sister.[11] Not one of them deplores your absence more than I do, I believe I may say, as *much*.

With kind regards to the Dr & the boys, I remain ever your attached friend

MARY LINCOLN

---

[2] Ozias Mather Hatch, then Secretary of State of Illinois.

[3] Apparently this is a part of the itinerary of the Council Bluffs trip. Lincoln desired to examine land in Council Bluffs, Iowa, which Norman B. Judd, a Chicago attorney, proposed to convey to him as security for a debt. However, he did not make the trip until August and then he was accompanied only by Mr. Hatch. In Council Bluffs, Lincoln accepted an invitation to speak on "the great political issues of the day."

[4] Presumably a former playmate of Edward Rathbun.

[5] Mrs. Pascal P. Enos, Jr., daughter-in-law of one of the founders of Springfield, died April 15, 1859.

[6] Mrs. Joel Aldrich Matteson, wife of the Governor of Illinois, 1853-1857.

[7] The Matteson home, one of the "show places" of Springfield and a center of social activity, was across Fourth Street from the Governor's Mansion.

[8] This was probably a daguerreotype of Lincoln which he presented to Dr. Shearer in 1859 and which is now in the possession of the writer. It is designated as No. 9 in *The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln,* by Frederick Hill Meserve and Carl Sandburg.

[9] E. J. Ayers, dry goods merchant, married Ardelia Wheelock, daughter of Mrs. Solomon B. Wheelock. Some years later Mr. and Mrs. Ayers, with their son Philip W., visited the Shearers in Wellsboro; and in 1918, both Mrs. Ayers and Philip corresponded with William Lincoln Shearer.

[10] This may have been the house the Shearers vacated when they left Springfield, or the house immediately north of the Lincolns.

[11] Mrs. Chauncey G. Parrish, who lived on a farm just outside the city limits.

Mrs. Lincoln frequently did not date her letters fully and this is sometimes confusing to the reader. In fact, once when her husband was serving in Washington as an Illinois congressman, she wrote to him from Lexington, Kentucky, where she was visiting relatives, and told him that this was just one of her "peculiarities." She could never remember the day of the month and so did not date her letters. However, from the text of the letters and from other sources the dates can be fixed fairly accurately.

SPRINGFIELD JUNE [26? 1859]

MY DEAR MRS. SHEARER,

I can scarcely realise that three or four weeks have passed since your last welcome letter was received, each day has found me proposing to write, and yet my promises to myself, always unfulfilled. I trust with either of us, it may never again occur—for it is a great trial for me not to hear from you. Owing to some business, Mr. L— found he had to attend to in Chicago,[12] our trip to Council Bluffs, has been for the present deferred, however I accompanied Mr L— to Chicago, and passed a few days very pleasantly.[13] For the last two weeks, we have had a continual round of *strawberry* parties, this last week, I have spent five evenings out—and you may suppose, that this day of rest, I am happy to enjoy. You need not suppose with our *pleasures*, you are forgotten. I shall *never cease* to long for your dear presence, a cloud always hangs over me, when I think of you. This last week, we gave a strawberry company of about seventy, and I need not assure you, that your absence was sadly remembered. *Miss Curran*, Mr. Grimshaw's bride was present.[14] After raspberry time, we will resume, doubtless our usual quiet. About the last of June Mr. L— contemplates his visit to Council

[12] Lincoln must have been called to Chicago unexpectedly because he lost a case in Springfield on June 7, by reason of his absence.

[13] Willie Lincoln also went along, and he wrote back to a playmate in Springfield: "This town is a very beautiful place. . . . Me and father have a nice little room to ourselves. We have two little pitchers on a washstand. The smallest one for me the largest one for father."

[14] Cornelia B. Curran, of Ithaca, New York, was married to Jackson Grimshaw, a Quincy attorney and an active worker with Lincoln in the Republican Party. In his diary for June 9, 1859, Orville H. Browning notes: "Went to a party at Lincoln's at night."

Bluffs, and I presume, I will accompany him. And during the month of July, I hope to pay a visit to Chicago. You know I enjoy, city life. Mr & Mrs Dubois are well. Mr. Hatch told me last evening, he was going to visit his native New Hampshire hills, this summer, he is still as pleasant as ever. Mrs. Trumbull[15] made her first appearance, last evening, looking as stately & *ungainly* as ever. Altho' she has been in the city 10 days, this has been about the first notice that has been taken of her. Tis unfortunate, to be so unpopular.[16] The Wheelocks, have moved, as they expected. I suppose you were *startled* at Delia, being so smart.[17] In whom can we trust? I have tried to gain courage, to make a call on Mrs. P-- "over the way."[18] As yet, I have not had the *courage*. If I could cease to *dwell* upon your memory, I should be far happier. Mrs. Mc[Clernand][19] spent two months in Ky, not much improved, I fear, she still has a bad cough. What would I not give, for a few hours conversation, with you this evening. I hope you may never feel as lonely as I sometimes do, surrounded by much that renders life desirable. I hope you will not become so interested in your new home, as to lose your interest in us. Altho' as you are likely to remain there at present, I trust much pleasure & happiness, will be yours. I have been afraid of our horse, or I should have been out to see your sister, before this, for any one connected with you, will always interest me. I am not satisfied with your letters. They are too short. Do write more lengthy epistles, tell me everything about yourselves. With kind remembranses [*sic*] to the Dr. & boys, I must close. I hope *very very* soon to hear from you. Mr Lincoln sends his love.

Yours affectionately

Mary Lincoln.

I dare not look over, this, it is written so hastily.

---

[15] Julia Jayne Trumbull, wife of Lyman Trumbull, United States Senator from Illinois.

[16] Mrs. Trumbull had been a girlhood friend of Mrs. Lincoln, an attendant at her wedding and an intimate until 1855, when the Illinois legislature elected Trumbull to the United States Senate over Lincoln. After that, relations between the women were strained, and they saw little of each other.

[17] In marrying E. J. Ayers?

[18] Probably Mrs. George W. Pendleton, wife of a Baptist minister, who, for about a year, conducted a private school known as the Springfield Literary Institution. Seemingly Mrs. Lincoln disliked her and her husband.

[19] Sarah Dunlap McClernand, wife of Colonel John Alexander McClernand, a Democrat who was elected to a second term in Congress later in 1859.

Late in the summer of 1859 Robert Todd Lincoln left home for school in the East and Mrs. Lincoln missed her eldest son very much. However, she was happy with her many social activities.

SPRINGFIELD AUGUST 28TH. [1859]

MY DEAR MRS. SHEARER,

Notwithstanding some *two months*, have passed, since I wrote you last, and no answer has been returned to my missive, yet inclination prompts me to send you a few lines. I am feeling quite lonely, as *Bob*, left for College, in *Boston*, a few days since, and it almost appears, as if light & mirth, had departed with him. I will not see him for ten months, without I may next spring, go on to see him.[20] I believe when I wrote you, I anticipated a quiet summer at home. Within a week, after [on July 14], we started unexpectedly on an excursion,[21] travelled *eleven hundred* miles, with a party of eighteen. Many of the party, were your acquaintances, Mr & Mrs Dubois, Mr & Mrs Tom Campbell,[22] Mr Hatch *of course*, and some few others, I believe you knew.[23] *Words* cannot express what a merry time, we had, the gayest pleasure party, I have ever seen. Mr Lincoln says I may go up to the White Mountains, Niagara & take New York & Philadelphia, in our route. Will go on, in time to bring *Bob* home next summer, if *one dare* anticipate, so far in advance.

Your Sister Mrs Parrish, has moved to town, and I am going this very evening to see her, they are some six or seven blocks from here.[24] I do not wonder, they left the farm, it was so dreary. Do write, when you receive this and give an

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[20] In 1920, Robert Todd Lincoln wrote to William Lincoln Shearer: "The letter in which my mother spoke of me . . . was written at the time I went east to pass the entrance examinations of Harvard College. In this I failed, and so passed a very valuable year to myself at Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire. This enabled me to pass the Harvard examinations in 1860 without difficulty."

[21] The trip was over the lines of the Illinois Central Railroad for which Lincoln was attorney. The purpose was to make an assessment of the road's property in connection with the lawsuit, People *v.* Illinois Central Railroad, filed on February 1, 1859. Lincoln purchased a seventy-five cent pair of suspenders on the morning of their departure. The Lincolns returned to Springfield on July 22, after an absence of nine days.

[22] Mrs. Campbell was the former Ann E. Todd, cousin of Mrs. Lincoln.

[23] The others included Mr. and Mrs. Stephen T. Logan, John Moore, and William Butler, and, more than likely, Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Butler.

[24] They resided at the northwest corner of Tenth and Cook streets.

account of yourselves. About this time, you will be starting for New York,[25] I hope you will have a pleasant time—

If I had not devoted so long a time, in writing to R[obert] this afternoon, and as I am called away or I should write you a long letter. What a world, we would have to talk about, were we to meet. I shall never cease to miss you. Mr & Mrs Pendleton *speak* of removing from Springfield. I presume the Dr. will not wonder. If I had leisure or opportunity, I would like to tell you of some few handsome parties, that have been given this summer, at Mr Ridgely's in his new house,[26] and some other places. I hope you will not lose all interest in us. For I *can never* cease to love you.

Write soon, to your attached friend

Mary Lincoln

Although she was increasingly preoccupied with her social activities, which now included much traveling with her husband, Mrs. Lincoln did not forget her friend in Pennsylvania.

Springfield Oct 2d. [1859]

My Dear Mrs. Shearer.

By some strange coincidence, I believe each of our last letters, were dated on the same day. Therefore if we were inclined to be ceremonious, we would scarcely know, how to set about it.

Since I last wrote you, I have again been wandering. Mr. L & myself[27] visited Columbus & some beautiful portions of Ohio, & made a charming visit to Cincinnati.[28] I am again at home and Mr. L— is in Wisconsin.[29] I miss Bob, so

[25] Mrs. Shearer made frequent trips to New York to supervise the property left her by Mr. Rathbun.

[26] The home of Nicholas H. Ridgely, Springfield banker, and particularly "Ridgely's Cottage Garden," devoted to exotic and experimental plantings, were among the "show places" of the community.

[27] One of the boys also went along, probably Willie.

[28] Stephen A. Douglas spoke in Ohio, September 16-20. Lincoln accepted an invitation to speak following the Senator in Columbus and Cincinnati. He also spoke in Dayton, Hamilton, and Indianapolis. These speeches added to his fame and also brought an offer from a Columbus firm to print the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858, which he had been trying to get published for some time. In Cincinnati, the Lincolns spent most of Sunday, September 18, with Mrs. Lincoln's cousin, Mrs. William Martin Dickson, and her family.

[29] On September 30, Lincoln delivered the annual address at the Wisconsin State Fair in Milwaukee. The next day he spoke at Beloit and Janesville. Afterward he attended court in Clinton, Illinois, before returning home. He was away from Springfield from September 28 through October 8.

much, that I do not feel settled down, as much as I used to & find myself going on trips quite frequently. I have invited Miss Cochran [unidentified] and she is spending some weeks with me, so I have a good opportunity of leaving home. Mary, the same girl, I had last winter, is still with me, a very faithful servant, has become as submissive as possible.[30]

Betty Stuart & Chris Brown are to be married the 20th of this month, will have quite a wedding & some parties are expected, which will be a pleasant change for us.[31] Did you make your visit to New York. Write & tell me all about yourselves.

Mr. Miner's family & Mr & Mrs P[arrish] I understand went down to the St Louis fair. Mr P[endleton] is about moving away. Col McClernand is nominated by his party, for Congress & as the district is democratic, will doubtless be elected. Sarah's health is still very delicate *still her cough*, he speaks of sending her to Alabama this winter.

One of the seven wonders has taken place. Mrs. Dubois, has a daughter, born two or three days since. Until the last hour, *no one* suspected her, as she looked smaller, than she ever had done. Sometimes I thought her countenance had changed, but that was all. She is doing well & much pleased.

Mr. Hatch, made one of his social, agreable [*sic*] calls, last evening—enquired very particularly for you—no sign of his marrying.[32] We are having beautiful weather, and I hope it will continue. How dearly I should love to see you. Next summer you must meet me in New York. Bob & myself expect to be somewhat of travellers. We are going up to spend a week at the White Mountains. Won't you join me? This is the third letter, I have written within the last two hours, so you will excuse the style etc. With respects to the Dr. & love to the boys, I remain, your attached friend

MARY LINCOLN

---

[30] Because of her temperament Mrs. Lincoln had difficulty in keeping household help. One time, after she had quarreled with a maid, Lincoln, without his wife's knowledge, paid the girl a dollar a week extra with the plea, "Stay with her, Maria; stay with her!"

[31] Elizabeth Stuart was the daughter of Mrs. Lincoln's cousin, John Todd Stuart, Lincoln's first law partner who had introduced him to his future wife. Christopher C. Brown was a young lawyer, whose examination for the bar had been conducted by Lincoln and William H. Herndon, his partner. Lincoln attended the wedding by making a special trip from Urbana where he was trying a case.

[32] Hatch married Julia R. Enos on December 13, 1860, and the Lincolns were among the guests.

The year 1859 was one of steady advancement for Abraham Lincoln and an increasingly busy one for his wife. However, 1860 was destined to be even more important—but Mrs. Lincoln did not know this when she wrote her New Year's Day letter to Mrs. Shearer.

Springfield Jany 1st [1860]

My Dear Friend,

For some time past, I have intended writing you, but each day has brought its own separate calls, causing a delay, which has been unintentional. I have only a few moments, now at my disposal, it is quite late in the evening & to-morrow I must rise early, as it is *receiving* day. How I wish you were with us. The weather is *intensely* cold, and our winter, has been rather quiet. Gov & Mrs. Matteson, give a large entertainment on Wednesday evening, Mr L— *gives me* permission to go, but declines, the honor himself. I should like to go, but *may probably* pass the evening at home. Since I last wrote you, I have passed a week very pleasantly in St Louis. You know I have four *own* cousins, who keep house in the city, & live very pleasantly. Yet my time by especial invitation was passed at my Cousin Judge [John C.] Richardson's. They live in a very handsome house, four stories, plenty of room, & some Kentucky *darkies*, to wait on them.

Whilst there, Julia Dean Hayne,[33] had a benefit, our Springfield *Ned* Taylor[34] (who is passing the winter in St Louis) came up & we all went together. Ten years ago, about the time of her debut, I saw her in Washington, she has failed greatly since then. Perhaps you are aware, that Mrs. McClernand accompanied her Husband this winter.[35] I never saw persons *so elated* in my life. Poor woman, she cannot feel comfortable away from home, with her poor health. I saw your sister Mrs. P[arrish] a few days since, she is so good a woman, I love her very much. I need not assure you, that I

---

[33] Julia Dean Hayne (1830-1868), known on the stage as Julia Dean, was one of the most beloved actresses of the time. In 1855 she was married to Dr. Arthur Hayne, son of Senator Robert Hayne, of South Carolina. The marriage proved unhappy and her fame as an actress declined. It was customary to call performances "benefits" when given for the benefit of the actors themselves.

[34] Possibly Edward J. Taylor who boarded at the Chenery House and had formerly been associated with Charles R. Hurst in the dry goods firm, "Hurst and Taylor."

[35] McClernand was in Congress, 1859-1861, so presumably Mrs. McClernand spent the winter with him in Washington.

am writing under, unpleasant circumstances. Such a pen, may you never handle *such another*, boys *disposed* to be noisy. Speaking of *boys*, Willie's [ninth] birthday came off on the 21st of Dec. and as I had long promised him a *celebration*, it duly came off. Some 50 or 60 boys & girls attended the gala, you may believe I have come to the conclusion, that they are nonsensical affairs.[36] However, I wish your boys, had been in their midst. Do, like a dear friend, begin the New Year well, & answer this scrawl, so soon as you receive it. Knowing, I will not have an hour, at my disposal for some days I *venture* to send it. With kind regards to the Dr. & the boys, I remain your attached friend,

MARY LINCOLN

Let the *flames*, receive this, so soon as read.

When the Lincolns left Springfield for Washington in February, 1861, the Shearers were invited to join the Presidential party, which they did at Philadelphia on February 21. The next morning the company proceeded to Harrisburg where Lincoln delivered two addresses. The party spent the night at the Jones House, but when they reassembled for breakfast the next morning Lincoln was missing. He had gone to Washington during the night, on the advice of the secret service men and several of his friends who feared an assassination plot in Baltimore.

With the excitement and pageantry of the inauguration over, Mrs. Lincoln resumed her correspondence.

WASHINGTON MARCH [28, 1861]

MY DEAR MRS. SHEARER.

I scarcely thought when we parted at Harrisburg, that so long a time would pass, before I would send you a letter, yet I feel assured, if you were aware how much *every moment* is occupied, you would excuse me. We suppose, that the crowd will be gradually leaving the city, and henceforth, we may hope, for more leisure, *that blessed* assurance, frequently quiets my nerves. Last week, both of the children,

[36] The invitations, written by Mrs. Lincoln, read: "Willie Lincoln will be pleased to see you, Wednesday Afternoon at 3 O'clock . . . Tuesday Dec. 22d."

had the measles slightly, altho' the papers represented them as quite ill.

We have given our last *general* levee, until next winter, our cabinet dinner comes off this evening, a party of 28 will dine with us. Our friends have all left, except Mrs Grimsley[37] & Mr & Mrs Kellogg[38] of Cincinnati. The latter leave for home, tomorrow. Mrs G[rimsley] will remain a week or two longer. This is certainly a very charming spot & I have formed many delightful acquaintances. Every evening our *blue room*, is filled with the elite of the land, last eve, we had about 40 to call in, to see us *ladies*, from Vice P. Breckinridge[39] down.

I want you to spend the month of May, with us. W[ashington] at that time, is perfectly charming. We can pass, many pleasant hours, together, the drives around here are fine, and our carriage we find *very luxurious*. Remember that I shall certainly expect you. As will be most agreeable to us, we will not have any other friends with us. Be sure & bring your boys, with you, the pleasure grounds here, are exquisite. I shall claim the month. I am beginning to feel so perfectly at home, and enjoy every thing so much. The conservatory attached to this house is so delightful. We have so many choice bouquets. My sister Mrs. Edwards writes that she cannot settle down at home, since she has been here. We *may perhaps*, at the close of *four* years, be glad to relinquish our claims.

One day this week, we went down to Mt. Vernon. A visit we can again pay, when you are with us. Like a dear friend, do not wait for a regular return of letters, remember how little time, is at my disposal. Remember me to your Husband & boys, and believe me ever your attached friend

MARY LINCOLN

The opening shots of the Civil War were fired at Fort Sumter on April 12, and the First Battle of Bull Run, practically at Washington's doorstep, was to take place on July 21.

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[37] Elizabeth Todd Grimsley was a cousin, intimate girlhood friend, and wedding attendant of Mrs. Lincoln.

[38] Charles H. and Margaret Todd Kellogg were brother-in-law and sister of Mrs. Lincoln.

[39] John C. Breckinridge was Vice-President, 1857 to 1861, and had been an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency in November, 1860. At the time Mrs. Lincoln was writing he was a Senator from Kentucky.

Consequently it is not surprising that Mrs. Shearer did not accept Mrs. Lincoln's invitation to spend the month of May with her. Also, Mrs. Shearer's third son was to be born in October. However, Mrs. Lincoln was determined to have her friend with her, so she made another suggestion:

JULY 11TH 61.
EXECUTIVE MANSION

MY DEAR FRIEND.

After your long silence, I regret to receive a letter stating that you cannot make "the promised visit." I am now sitting down, to explain to you, why you *must* keep your word, & what a *quiet*, comfortable time, you will have, by so doing. In the first place, there is no place in the country, so safe & well guarded as Washington. No matter what your state or feelings are, you will have a pleasant time. We expect to go out to the "Soldier's Home" a very beautiful place 2½ miles, from this, in about three weeks.[40] We will ride into the city every day, & can be as secluded, as we please.

I have a proposal to make to you, we expect to visit "Long Branch,"[41] to remain a week or ten days, about the last of the present month. We have invitations from three different hotels, with suites of rooms, offered us in each, if you are not well, sea bathing, will be beneficial to you. We have railroad passes, and the trip will cost nothing, which is a good deal to us all these times. How I want you to lay all difficulties aside, join us at Philadelphia. We will let you know the exact time, and make a visit to L.B. We go on to New York, and pass a day, going & returning.

Mrs. Grimsley, is still with me, & will accompany us to Long B., but will leave us at New York, for home. From Long Branch, you must return with me to W. & pass a month or two. You will certainly gratify me in this. Bring your boys with you, it will be more pleasant all around. I am going to take my boys, with me, with a servant man, who will take charge, of your children also. Remember I claim

[40] To escape the summer heat in Washington the Lincolns spent some time at the Anderson Building, a stone cottage at the United States Soldiers' Home, on the high ground overlooking the city from its northern suburbs. The President drove in his carriage to the Executive Mansion each morning.

[41] A fashionable resort on the New Jersey coast.

you for two months. Do not disappoint me. You shall be kept perfectly quiet. Mrs. Grimsley you will love very much. She is very anxious, to have you join us. It will give you strength, for a year to come. We go to the sea shore, to be perfectly quiet. We are invited, to bring any friend with us, we desire, and there is no one I am so anxious to see, as your dear self. If you are not well, my word for it, you can always keep yourself, as quiet as you wish.

I feel that I must have you with me. I wish, I could hand you over the magnificent bouquet, just sent me, the magnolia is superb. We have the most beautiful flowers & grounds imaginable, and company & excitement enough, to turn a wiser head than my own. But when Congress adjourns, and we go out to our retreat, we will be quiet enough. There are so many lovely drives around W. and we have only *three* carriages, at our command.

I want you to write, directly you receive this. If you love me, give me a favorable answer. I have set my heart on having you with me.

With kind regards to the Dr & boys I remain ever

Your attached friend,

Mary Lincoln

P. S I have had quite a variety of letter paper & note, with your initials embossed on it, but have as yet, met with no opportunity of sending it.

Mrs. Shearer was persuaded to accept the invitation, so Mrs. Lincoln outlined her latest plans:

Aug 1st [1861]
Executive Mansion

My Dear Friend.

For some days past, I have tried to get a moments leisure to answer your letter, you can scarcely imagine how I am pressed for time.

This day week, the 8th of Aug we leave here, for New York. I want you to meet us at the Philadelphia depot that day. You must not fail me. I have passed through so much excitement, that a change is absolutely necessary. The Prince[42] & suite are expected in Washington & on Saturday,

[42] Prince Jerome Napoleon (Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte) had come to America in his yacht.

we dine them at *8 'oclock* P.M. Very different *from home*. We only have to give our orders for the dinner, and *dress* in proper season. I will take no refusal from you. We remain a day or two in New York, in passing through. I think it probable I may take my boys. If I do not, and you desire it, you could leave your boys in Brooklyn, until our return from the branch. We would be pleased to have them with us, and I am determined to bring you all home with me. The boys would enjoy it here. Answer immediately.

Ever your attached friend

MARY LINCOLN

Actually, Mrs. Lincoln did not leave Washington until August 15. She was accompanied by her sons Willie and Tad, Mrs. Grimsley, John Hay, secretary to the President, and a "considerable party." The group was joined by Mrs. Shearer and her sons in Philadelphia and they reached New York that evening. They were immediately showered with attentions which deprived them of the privacy and quiet which Mrs. Lincoln had promised Mrs. Shearer. Each newspaper assigned a reporter to follow their movements and most of them printed daily accounts of their doings.

On August 17, Mrs. Lincoln's party went to Long Branch where Robert Todd Lincoln joined them. Unfortunately Mrs. Shearer was not well during a part of their nine-day stay at the resort. Once, at least, when a large ball was to be given in her honor, Mrs. Lincoln sent her regrets because of her friend's "severe illness." Then Tad Lincoln developed a cold which kept the party at the resort several days longer than they had intended. On August 26, the First Lady and her group left Long Branch, and visited Saratoga and Niagara Falls before returning to Washington.

Back at the Executive Mansion again Mrs. Lincoln did not delay in resuming her correspondence. This letter was not among those which the writer inherited from "Uncle Will" Shearer. It is in the collection of Lincolniana owned by Foreman M. Lebold of Chicago:

Executive Mansion Oct 6th 61.

My Dear Mrs Shearer:

I had scarcely supposed, that so long a time would elapse, ere I should have written you, but indisposition has prevented me. For the last ten days, I have been sick with chills, am now beginning, to feel better. I am pleased to hear that you reached home in safety, I felt quite anxious to hear from you. The weather has again become quite warm, & so dusty, there is no comfort in riding. We will welcome cool weather, *dust*, I presume we will never be freed from, until *mud*, takes its place. We are as far removed, as ever on this eastern shore, it appears, *from war*. If we could accomplish our purpose without, resorting to arms & bloodshed how comfortable, it would be. But that is impossible. Mr Lincoln, has gone out today, to pay a visit to Gen Banks.[43] Our friends Gov Newell,[44] Halstead[45] && are generally about here. The diplomatic corps, have returned to the city, quite a number of strangers are daily coming in & our "blue room," in the evenings, is quite alive with the "beaumonde." Gen McClellan has just sent me in, a box of grapes from Cin. They are delicious. I wish you were here, to share them with me. I often receive delightful fruit from New Jersey. Do write me, & tell me how you are coming on. You have so much more leisure, than I have, why do you not write? I want to hear, all about yourself. When *any thing* happens, make the Dr write. I sent you a few scraps of my dresses. I send you a sample of an evening silk, *lights* up beautifully to be flounced. I will enjoy it, because it is a variety, *not figured*. Lizzie Grimsley, I frequently hear from, she is well & recovered her trunk some time since. *Hay* has just returned from Ill. When you receive this, I want you to sit down & write me a long letter. With regards to the Dr & boys, I remain your attached friend

Mary Lincoln

Three years have passed and the relatively happy days for Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Shearer have been succeeded by heartbreaking ones. Willie Lincoln had died in February,

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[43] Major General Nathaniel P. Banks.

[44] William A. Newell, Governor of New Jersey, 1857-1861.

[45] Probably Murat Halstead, newspaperman and at that time part owner of the *Cincinnati Commercial*.

1862, and then Edward, Mrs. Shearer's eldest son, passed away just before this letter was written from Washington:

Nov. 20th 1864

My *very dear* Friend.

Since we were so heavily visited by affliction, almost three years since, in the loss of our darling, idolized Willie, with the sensitiveness of a heavy sorrow, I have shrank, from all communication, with those, who would most forcibly recall, my sorrows to my mind. Now, in this, the hour of *your* deep grief, with all my *own wounds* bleeding afresh, I find myself, writing to you, to express, my deepest sympathy, *well knowing* how unavailing, *words*, are, when we are broken hearted.

The fairest, are most frequently taken, from a world of trial, for some wise purpose, which we cannot understand. I am glad, that you still have two dear children, left to comfort you. And a Husband so perfectly devoted to you. And *yours*, is so loving a nature, that it is absolutely necessary, for you, to have some one, to lean upon, & look up to. It is a most fortunate circumstance, that you married, when you did. When, I tell you, I am writing to *Lizzie Grimsley*, for the *first time* today since our heavy loss, you will appreciate & understand, that you are not *alone*, as regards my silence. I am very deeply attached to you both, yet since I last saw you, I have sometimes feared, that the *deep waters*, through which we have passed would overwhelm me.

Willie, darling Boy! was always the idolized child, of the household. So gentle, so meek, for a more Heavenly Home. We were having *so much bliss*. Doubtless ere this, our Angel boys, are reunited, for they loved each other, so much on Earth. *The World*, has lost so much, of its charm. My position, requires my presence, where my heart, is *so far* from being. I know, *you are* better prepared than I was, to pass through the fiery furnace of affliction. I had become, so wrapped up in the world, so devoted to our own political advancement that I thought of little else besides. Our Heavenly Father sees fit, oftentimes to visit us, at such times, for our worldliness, how small & insignificant all worldly honors are, when we are *thus* so severely tried. Please remember [me] to your family & accept much love for yourself, from your truly attached friend Mary Lincoln

MAYO GENERAL HOSPITAL

BY L. WILLARD FREEMAN, M. D.

SPRAWLED over 118 acres of a 155-acre plot just north of the city limits of Galesburg, Illinois, lie the ninety-nine buildings that, from 1943 to 1946, were the Mayo General Hospital. During the 959-day career of this massive institution as an Army hospital, 18,365 patients received definitive treatment here for practically all known disorders that man can suffer.

To chronicle the history of this important Army hospital, one must make certain assumptions. To these assumptions can be added an eyewitness account, supported by the annual reports submitted to the Office of the Surgeon General.[1] One might be led to conjecture as to the reason for placing this huge installation so distant from centers of population. The strategy was in line with the dispersal policy set up by the planning board. That political influence was exercised in obtaining a third Army general hospital for Illinois (others were Vaughan General Hospital at Hines, and Gardiner General Hospital in Chicago) seems likely, but many factors entered into the final

[1] In the preparation of this article the author gratefully acknowledges the help of Colonel J. H. McNinch, Army Medical Library, Colonel Henry L. Krafft, United States Army (Retired), and Scott W. Lucas, former United States Senator from Illinois.

Dr. L. Willard Freeman is at present Director of Surgical Research, Indiana University Medical Center, Indianapolis. He is a graduate of Augustana College and took his medical studies at the University of Chicago. During his military service (1945-1946) he was assigned to Mayo General Hospital.

selection of the site. Aside from these unknown factors, the following account is undoubtedly accurate.

Surveying of the site for location of the hospital was begun on March 13, 1943. At that time our forces were valiantly fighting a losing battle, but long lines of recruits were training for the offensive struggle. A 155-acre plot on the north edge of Galesburg, between the extension of Seminary Street and the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy Railroad right-of-way, was selected. It included two farms and was officially located as the NW quarter of Section 2, Township 11, Range 1, East of the fourth principal meridian. On April 23, a 1.14-mile railroad, consisting of one siding and three spurs from the C. B. & Q., was begun. The prime contract was let on May 14 to A. Farnell-Blair of Decatur, Georgia. One week later actual construction was begun. The storm sewers were started on June 18 and the placement of the steam distribution system was initiated on July 2. The sanitary sewage system was begun on July 12.

To this busy scene came Henry L. Krafft, Colonel, Medical Corps, United States Army, to assume command on August 1, 1943, a post which he held throughout the major portion of the active days of the hospital. The water and electrical distribution systems were started on July 19 and August 10 respectively. Colonel Krafft set up temporary headquarters at 60 North Kellogg Street on the day following the official naming of the hospital. War Department General Order Number 48, dated August 28, 1943, named the institution Mayo General Hospital in honor of Brigadier General William James Mayo and his brother, Brigadier General Charles Horace Mayo, both of the Medical Reserve Corps of the United States Army. These men are well remembered for their role in establishing one of the world's leading medical clinics and research foundations, but they also played important roles in military medicine in World War I.

The hospital was activated by General Order Number

223, Headquarters, Sixth Service Command, dated October 25, 1943. It was designated as the 3613 Service Unit. By November 14, Colonel Krafft was able to move to his permanent headquarters in the administration building on the hospital grounds. Three days later, the first meals were served from the newly erected mess halls. At this time, 25 officers and 33 enlisted men were present. On the following day, 206 enlisted men reported for duty from Fort Sheridan, Illinois. As of November 30, there had been 1,437,224 man hours of labor expended in construction, with an additional estimated 60,000 man hours being required for completion.

The first buildings accepted from the contractor were the fire station, telephone building, and four storehouses on October 9. By December 31, 1943, 95 per cent of the unit assembly was present, just 113 days after the surveying was started! At this time, it consisted of 77 buildings on 70 acres. All were of brick construction, with seven being two-story and the rest, one. Included in these grounds were a church, post exchange, theater and gymnasium.

On November 1, 1943, the chief of the medical service arrived. An out-patient service was started on December 12, 1943, to care for assigned personnel. The first X-ray (disclosing a fractured finger) was done on November 25, and the first laboratory test (a blood count) was done on December 9. From this meager beginning, when most of the time was spent in planning and construction, no one could foresee that the next twenty months would bring the great activities to be launched by the opening of the doors for war wounded on February 1, 1944. At that time, 1,655 beds were authorized with an emergency capacity of 1,778 beds. Formal dedication of the installation was carried out on July 10, 1944. As the patient load increased, more personnel were added. On August 12, 1944, the 4613 Service Unit, WAC Detachment was activated and on September 19, 1944, the 345th Army Service Forces band, consisting of 29 enlisted men and one warrant officer,

reported for duty. By the end of the year, the assigned personnel included 93 officers, two warrant officers, 75 nurses, dietitians, and physical therapy aides, 566 enlisted men and 619 civilians. The post had a complement of 36 vehicles and was using 38,000 tons of supply per month. By this time, there were 93 buildings with 250,000 gallons of water being used daily. In a single month (November) 196,668 meals were served.

The civilian activities in the hospital became official when the Red Cross Military Welfare Service was inaugurated on January 10, 1944. On May 12, the Motor Corps went into active service. Throughout this period, the Production Corps and the Surgical Dressing Corps, consisting of townsfolk, were active. All of these services were extremely welcome and the record that these people made necessitates little comment, for the Surgeon General himself has issued certificates of appreciation. The period from February 1 to August 25, 1944, was one during which the hospital could best be described as a general surgical, general medical, and neuropsychiatric installation. War Department Circular 347, dated August 25, 1944, designated Mayo General Hospital as a center for the following specialties: (1) neurosurgical; (2) neurological; (3) peripheral vascular disease; (4) general medicine; (5) prisoner of war. Specialists in all of these fields began arriving on the scene and activities were soon at full scale.

The medical library had been started with 350 volumes, and gifts of $400 from the Officers Club and $1,000 from Dr. Donald Balfour of Mayo Clinic, were used to augment the initial number of books. By the turn of the year, there had been 5,495 admissions to the hospital, with 2,624 being surgical cases. Of these, 1,100 were operated upon, mostly for extremely complicated injuries. Thus, in a period of eleven months from the time the first operative procedure in the hospital (manipulation of knee and application of plaster cast to Private F. P. Sembenini) was done, to the year's end, one hundred operations were being done each month. In all, there

were only six deaths or about one in 1,000. Eight hundred ninety-five pints of blood had been used to that time.

During 1945, with the armed forces being active on many fronts throughout the world, casualties were returning from overseas theaters in great numbers. In the face of this increased load of patients and with the addition of six buildings, the authorized bed capacity was raised to 2,139. Trained personnel were being constantly removed for service overseas and were being replaced by personnel requiring training. Then, too, civilian nurses were replaced by Army nurses. By November, there were 1,125 personnel, the peak being reached with the addition of the 79th Field Hospital which was assigned for duty. A large prisoner of war compound supplied labor for the laundry and for other menial tasks. During the year, 9,227 patients were admitted. Of these, 4,025 were subjected to surgical procedures, of which almost 1,000 were neurosurgical. The tremendous output must be laid to the diligence of the handful of surgeons who frequently worked throughout the night, that the patient should not suffer. That this care was excellent is marked by the fact that only three patients died during 1945.

The year was marred, however, by one episode. On the afternoon of July 14, 1945, the townspeople were alarmed by numerous military personnel falling to the streets violently ill. Meantime, at the hospital, early signs began to appear when a supply officer reported for sick call because of an upset stomach. Suddenly, patients on almost all wards began to complain of a violent nausea. By nightfall, of 2,200 patients and personnel who had eaten ham salad (which had been served at noon), 74 per cent had become ill. The violence with which this food epidemic raged can in part be measured by the speed with which the news of it spread. By early evening, national radio hookups were broadcasting reports of the incident. However, by that time the epidemic was under control. Intravenous fluids and sets for their administration had arrived on

the scene by plane, train, ambulance, and private car from all surrounding civilian and military hospitals. As a symbol of this tremendous co-operative effort of the area, only one patient (who was suffering from an incurable heart ailment) died. It might be said that the majority of the stricken people wished to die during the early stages, later hoped they would, and finally really did not care. In spite of the grimness, prompt action by all concerned resulted in a fine example of the progress that military medicine has made.

By early 1946, demobilization was proceeding quite rapidly, and the surgeon general's office began to reduce the number of beds available for combat wounded soldiers. One of the first hospitals chosen for closing was Mayo. On July 20, 1946, the hospital was frozen for the Department of Public Welfare for the State of Illinois. On September 20, 1946, it was declared surplus and was abandoned by the Army. During this period, there were 3,643 admissions and three deaths.

Thus this $5,500,000 installation with its 804,158 square feet of floor space was turned over to the State of Illinois to assume a new role. Just thirty days after the state took possession the University of Illinois opened its Galesburg Undergraduate Division. The huge plant was able to provide forty-four classrooms and laboratories, five lecture halls, library, gymnasium, theater, chapel, hospital, thirty-five dormitories, 110 apartments for married students, and other facilities. During the three academic years that it was in operation the Galesburg Division served 2,940 students, many of whom might otherwise have delayed or missed their college training.

Then, at the end of the 1948-1949 school year, the hospital-college was turned over to the Illinois Department of Public Welfare. After extensive rehabilitation it was reopened in November, 1950, as the Galesburg State Research Hospital of the department's Mental Health Service. Eventually it is to become a 2,000-bed institution for the study of the problems of mentally ill old persons.

SIX LETTERS BY JOHN RUSSELL

EDITED BY JOHN T. FLANAGAN

JOHN RUSSELL of Bluffdale (1793-1863) played no conspicuous role in the public life of Illinois, yet he contributed to the cultural and educational progress of the state in the years before the Civil War. A Vermonter by birth and a teacher and Baptist minister by profession, he was also a farmer, a postmaster, a newspaper editor, a temperance worker, a scholar, and a writer. John Mason Peck, James Hall, and John Reynolds were his friends, and educational and religious leaders in every part of Illinois respected his work. But because Russell wrote no important books and made no effort to preserve his fugitive writings, his name has grown obscure.[1]

The letters that follow were written, with one exception, to his family and they deal generally with personal and domestic matters.[2] Although his wife and sons lived on a farm in Greene County, Russell was away for long periods either

[1] For a fuller account of Russell's life see John T. Flanagan, "John Russell of Bluffdale," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XLII, no. 3 (Sept., 1949), 272-91.

[2] These letters are published with the permission of their present owner, Mrs. Howard Hobson of Greenfield, Greene County, Illinois. Mrs. Hobson is a great-granddaughter of John Russell.

John T. Flanagan is a professor of English at the University of Illinois. One of several articles which he has previously written for this Journal *was "John Russell of Bluffdale" which appeared in the issue of September, 1949. Also, he is the author of* James Hall, Literary Pioneer of the Ohio Valley *and editor of* America is West, an Anthology of Middlewestern Life and Literature.

teaching or editing periodicals. He knew the familiar worries of a husband and father, and he was constantly concerned with the physical and spiritual welfare of his family. His letters reveal his interest in his scholars and his teaching, his lukewarm abolitionism, his reaction to southern plantation life, and his interest in Shurtleff College, where he himself had formerly taught. But principally they express his love for his wife and children.

Students of history may well deem it unfortunate that Russell had so little to say about the public events and the notables of the period, that he seldom referred to politics and that for the most part he kept himself aloof from controversy. But for such material there are other sources. These letters, the sincere writing of a cultivated man, reveal in a quiet way the private life of an Illinois citizen a century and more ago. If they lack brightness and verve they have other qualities. As Edwin Arlington Robinson once said about his own poetry, they are full of grays and browns and blacks and these are durable colors.

I.

[Inscribed to Th. Gregg, Esq.[3] Montrose, Iowa Territory]

GRAFTON, JAN, 10TH 1839

TH. GREGG, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you a long letter, but as the mail failed to go, and I have received another from you, I will withhold it.

Thanks, *many* thanks, for your articles. Tho' I do not co-incide with you in opinion about "*Oregon*,"[4] I cheerfully publish your article. I care nothing about its difference from

[3] Thomas Gregg (1808-1892) was a journalist who served his apprenticeship in Ohio and subsequently conducted a number of papers in Iowa and Illinois. After residing for a time in Montrose (formerly Fort Des Moines), Iowa, he moved to Hamilton, Illinois, where his most successful periodical venture was the *Dollar Monthly and Old Settlers' Memorial*. Gregg was of Quaker heritage and his hatred of slavery did not quite square with Russell's views on abolitionism. Both men, however, strongly supported the temperance movement.

[4] The Oregon controversy attracted attention in the 1830's because of successful missionary settlements in the Willamette Valley and because of the increasing number of prospective settlers. England and the United States had agreed upon joint occupancy in 1818. The treaty of 1846 gave the United States permanent possession of Oregon.

my views. It is too true that the rage for acquiring territory is a baneful one.

No matter what you write, except on *Abolition*, it shall appear.[5] All I ask is that you will write as often as you can. In spite of all my vigilance, I can not make our printers correct all the errors I mark. One is a Frenchman, and it would amuse you to see what work he sometimes makes of "the people's English," or of "American language," as he calls it.

By the by, I am waiting *impatiently* for the long letter you promised me, in reply to my "rap over your knuckles." I am so glad that you took no offence, that I shall take even a "*good lacing*," with all the cheerfulness in the world. After my letter was gone, I regretted it, *much*. "Reflection" and I had a long dialogue upon the subject. He told me plainly that I was an impudent fellow to write in that free manner. I told him my intentions were good. He said in reply that it was none of my business what you *believed* or what you *did*, and I had no right to meddle with the opinions of others.

Write as often for the Backwoodsman[6] as you can. Any subject you please. You say I must not flatter you! Ha! ha! ha! *flatter* you? I thought, to a certainty, that I had escaped *that* charge. I had expected a very different cry, that of "*throw down your shillelah*." Depend upon it, I shall speak of you in no *better* terms than you deserve. Was there any flattery in the *banging* I gave you about Abolition? Haw, Haw, what a modest man you are not to have found out yet that you can write, and that other folks have found it out too. Come, let me give you a word of advice. Do not pretend that you are no writer—for you know that your articles have been well received by the literary world, and to say that you are devoid of genius, is no more nor less than accusing our literati with a want of judgement and taste—in fact of being blockheads. I will say as Timoleon did to Alexander, "*Take the good the Gods provide thee*," and if the public applaud you, be a good democrat, let the majority rule, and not set up your opinion above theirs. If fame should put her tin trumpet to her lips to sound your praises, let her blow till she is weary of it,

[5] Although Russell never condoned slavery, he opposed the more radical kind of abolitionism and disliked the fiery partisanship it often engendered.

[6] Russell edited a weekly paper, the *Backwoodsman,* at Grafton, Illinois, in 1838 and 1839.

without trying to knock it out of her hands. I wish she would give me a blast or two, I would let it all go "*for gospel*," and say not a word about "*flattery*."

How comes on the Hennepin paper? Glad you are not in the scrape. There are Abolitionists that will make any sacrifice, but a great majority in this state would let a paper go down and you with it, before they would "shell out" a dollar. They "*talk fine*," yet will *do nothing*.

I wish you would, for a while, if you can, give me a communication every week. I am not able to pay for it, but think I shall find a way, in time, of doing you a *favor*. I wish you would take up the subject of "*Titles*," not land titles, but man-titles, Gen. Col. Maj. Capt. Esq. D.D. LL. D. et cetera. It strikes me you could put the lash on about right. How ridiculously fond our republican nobility is of titles. Any subject you choose. Every thing you write shall appear. By the by it is said your lady is no ordinary writer. If this is true (no "flattery") I shall be thankful for a specimen of her ladyships [*sic*] talents for my splendid Backwoodsman. My "old lady" as a wife is called in Illinois, pushes the quill sometimes—writes well. Respectfully, J. R.

672243 II.

[Addressed to William A. J. Russell, Esq.[7] Postmaster, Bluffdale, Greene Co. Illinois.]

Louisville, Jan. 27th 1842

My Own Dear William,

Enclosed is 30 dollars. More you shall have before a great while. Always tell me as long before hand as you well can and how much you want. I will do all I can. Do not doubt but we shall get along. Much, much do I owe to you for your generous exertions, and much, much to mother. We will all do our very best and no mistake. If we do have to scuffle hard and economize closely it is an honor to us. It is late. I have just returned from Mr. Bucks where I went for a book that I must have in making out the Index of the Hymn Book.[8]

[7] William A. J. Russell was John Russell's eldest son. A captain in the Union Army, he was killed in the Civil War.

[8] Russell went to Louisville to edit the *Advertiser* in 1841 and 1842. But he obviously did not limit himself to journalism. The volume for which he prepared an index was William C. Buck's *The Baptist Hymn Book* (Louisville, 1842), to which Russell contributed at least one hymn, No. 245, "Come to Christ." Buck gives Russell special credit for his essential aid in the preparation of the book.

I work night and day. For the last three weeks except on Sunday nights I have not been in bed till after eleven, and often later. I rise by day light. As to reading, beyond what I do in the course of business is out of the question. I shall not be so hurried when the Hymn Book is fairly out. I expected to find some relief after the book was made, but reading proof as it passes through the press and writing keep me as busy as ever.

A city is not half as pleasant to live in as the country. You have not half the society as you do in the country. We know nothing about those that live next door to us. There is a great deal of suffering, for there are many poor. This town is much larger than St. Louis, and not at all like it.[9] The streets are as wide again. The markets are all in Market Street. There are six of them, each 400 feet long. The market houses are supported on rows of pillars about 14 feet high and nearly a foot thick in the largest part. They look exactly as if they were wood and turned in a lathe, but to my astonishment I discovered lately that they were cast iron and painted. The streets are lighted with gas. The lamp posts are iron also. The lamp [*sic*] make the streets lighter than the full moon does, partly because the buildings obscure the light of the moon. Gas is employed in all the churches and in numerous stores and houses. The light is very brilliant and much cheaper than candles or oil. I have not yet had time to visit the gas works, but they are a great curiosity.

The Court House is superior to the Illinois State House or any other building in the West. They have been three years upon it, expended already upwards of half a million, and it is not yet half finished. You can hardly imagine any thing more splendid. The stones are not only hewed but polished. No posible [*sic*] expense is spared in its decoration. The cause of this enormous expense is that the people of Louisville are anxious to have the seat of government removed to this city and are building the court house for a state house and intend to present it to the state on condition of removing the seat of government. Taxes are said to be enormously high. Stores in the center of business are un-

[9] The Sixth Census of the United States (1840) gave Louisville 21,210 people; St. Louis 16,469 people.

occupied. Eleven doors in a row above this office have been vacated within a week and "*To Rent*" is placed on them. This is the best business street in the city except Maine and Market Streets which are not better. There have been several heavy failures here within a few days. Every business[man] in the U. S. has his hands full of hard times instead of hard dollars.

My thoughts are constantly upon home. I think of all of you—every one—and think of you much more than my failure to write seems to indicate. If I were to write you just how I feel, and all I feel I should write myself home sick and low spirited before I finished, for it would make me both to tell you what I feel about you.

Do the very best you can, my dear boy.

Tilden had better not come here if he can get a good situation in Illinois. I am confident it would be better for him in the long run to work there for he could lay up as much there as he could here if wages there should be up. He ought not even to think of bringing Juliet here.[10]

Well, I must, indeed close, for this must be taken to the P. O. yet, and I must sleep too, or have the head ache to morrow.

Mother was right, for Neurology is blown sky high. Dr. Sim. and Dr. Buchannan [*sic*] have had a public debate in the Amphitheatre of the Medical Institute.[11] I attended. More than 2000 people were present. The excitement was great. Cheering, hissing, and every other demonstration of excitement.

It was at night—two nights. The audience was much insensed [*sic*] against Dr. B. and cried "*turn him out*"—"*pitch him out.*" Just after it was blowed sky-high Mr. Bucks received an article from Mr. Peck[12] for the Banner & Pioneer lauding Neurology to the skies—telling preachers to study it for it would enable them often to tell real from spurious conversions. He had not heard what had taken place. If his

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[10] Juliet was John Russell's only daughter; she married Alfred S. Tilden.

[11] Joseph Rodes Buchanan (1814-1899) resided in Louisville and was a physician and writer. He was interested in phrenology and what he called "psychometry." The reference to "Dr. Sim." is obscure.

[12] John Mason Peck (1789-1858), well known Baptist educator and public leader in early Illinois, was a close friend of John Russell.

piece had been published it would have broke down the credit of the paper.

I will write again as soon as I can.

My love, my whole soul to all our family.

[UNSIGNED]

III.

[To William A. J. Russell]

EAST FELICIANA, LA.
MARCH 19TH 1843.

MY DEAREST WILLIAM,

I received yesterday a letter from your dear mother. For some of the intelligence it contained I feel to thank God. That Spencer and Frank are learning well and are determined to be good scho[l]ares and are good boys gives me more comfort than my pen can express.[13] That my children will be good and respectable is a thought would console me amid all the adversity of life. If we must be poor let us bear it with resignation and try by affection for each other and the approbation of our own hearts to be happy without property. If my life would do any good for you it should go at once for the happiness of my children. I have done all in my power to do, but misfortune and disappointment have followed me. God, for wise purposes has seen fit to disappoint all our calculations. We are not alone. Thousands and tens of thousands are worse off than we, who but a few years ago were rolling in wealth. Suicides have been numerous in the South in the last three years.

My school is a good one, is exceedingly popular and at 2 dolls. per month for each scholar I could make money if I can get my pay. The times here are fully as bad as in Illinois and perhaps worse. I am afraid I shall not get half of my pay. I fear that I shall lose much of it, or have to wait a long time for it which is just as bad. I am told by the man who taught here last year that he has not gotten more than half his pay. Some of the richest planters here are ruined and on the brink of bankruptcy, owing more than they can pay. Cotton, which [is] their sole dependence is down to nothing. This, my dear boy, is a dark picture and you will give up at once. No, no, be not despondent, nor blame poor father. I

[13] Russell had four children: William, Spencer, Francis, and Juliet. A fourth son died in infancy.

have done the best I knew how. If I lose my pay, I do not feel as if you ought to blame me. It is just so all over the South. I thought and so did others that as the price of tuition was so much higher here I had better come. I knew nothing about the condition of things here. I shall find out in a few weeks if I can get my pay, and if I lose too much of it shall quit them. I may get most of it.

I am sorry that I cannot give you more cheering words, but I will let you know exactly how things are. On the 17th and 18th of this month ice froze an inch thick and the ground froze hard. Corn and cotton had been planted by many for some weeks. It has killed even the twigs of the peach trees.

[UNSIGNED]

IV.

[Inscribed to William A. J. Russell, Esq. Postmaster, Bluffdale, Greene County, Illinois]

PARISH OF E. FELICIANA, LA.
JAN. 13TH 1844

MY DEAR WILLIAM:

I have not yet received a single letter from Bluffdale. Today, Saturday, I hope one will come. I sent you $20 in a letter, and fear that you have not received it. I have written four times since I came here. High waters and the failure of the mails are so frequent that I am not surprised that a letter does not go as regular as it should. I sent the money early in December.

My school goes on well. We have almost incessant rains, but no cold weather. There has been even a light frost not more than four or five times at the utmost, since I came here. The creek between my boarding house and school, is often so full that the children can not cross it. Day before yesterday Mr. Y. had a negro man drowned in crossing it, a valuable negro. It was his tanner, a first rate workman, for whom he gave fifteen hundred dollars. It is a heavy loss for Mr. Y. has a large amount of leather in the vats. Last summer, two of his shoemakers, young men, died within six hours of each other, and had been sick only from morning till four o'clock P. M. Mr. Y. says he had rather have lost any other four of his negroes than the tanner.[14] By the

[14] The curiously materialistic view toward the Negro which John Russell expresses here may explain his lack of interest in radical abolitionism. He seems almost to have adopted the Southern planter's attitude.

by, do not feel afraid that I, too, shall get drowned, for at the place where I cross there is no danger at all—not the least.

To-day the sun begins to shine for the first time for nearly a fortnight. O, the mud and water of a southern winter. Rain, rain, rain, just about two thirds of the time. True, it is not cold as at the north, but the heavy rains are about as bad. The frogs make music every night, and of course wet weather agrees with *their* constitutions, or they would not sing so merily [*sic*]. I guess the Illinois frogs do not sing much this winter.

I have gathered some seed of the Magnolia. Mr. Y. says it will grow. One of these weeks I shall send you some in a bundle of newspapers—say in a packet of three or four papers. When papers are sent that you do not want and do not order, you can examine them and not take them out. This practise is sanctioned by the P. O. Department and is pursued by all Postmasters. It would be hard, indeed, if a P. M. had to pay for all papers and pamphlets sent to him. No, he is authorized to open them, etc. read them if he pleases, and refuse them. This is sanctioned by the P. M. G. I think Congress will lower the price of postage this session. Nothing important is going on here. A family of the name of Chapman, living near by, a few nights ago fled with all their slaves, (about fifty) and what other personal property they could take. Their negroes were all mortgaged for near their value. They have fled for Texas and Mr. Brown the Sheriff is hot in pursuit of them. It is a Penitentiary crime to abscond with, or conceal a mortgaged slave. The Chapmans are a high-feeling family but were involved by the hard times. If brought back, and I think they will be, nothing can save them from the States Prison. One of them is a lady and a member of the Baptist church. There were three of them that owned the property. They went with several waggons and carriages, and it is supposed had a steam boat waiting for them, to take them up Red River. Much interest is felt there, in the event, for the rest of the family stand high, one being a Deacon in our church. Two scholars of the family came to me.

Of course, I know nothing that has gone on in Bluffdale

since I left. How does every thing go on at our home? By the by, what is Bartlett about? Do he and his wife live together again? But above all, how about a protracted meeting? Have my children given serious thoughts about the concerns of their souls? I hope they have. How unwise it is to risk eternity even a single day unprepared. It is a subject that you and Spencer and Laura ought not to put off. Let others despise religion as much as they may, secure for yourselves an interest in Christ. Life is short and O, how uncertain. It is an awful risk, to risk the soul, and risk it for *eternity*. Give me poverty, and every suffering that this life can inflict, if I can be happy after death. What are a few years to eternal ages? What is poverty compared with the loss of the soul? I do most earnestly entreat that you and Spencer and Laura will immediately set earnestly about this all-important subject. Pray to God daily and persevere and you will finally be heard.

I think often, I might say *always*, of home. Nowhere have I seen such a mother as yours. Try all of you to make her happy. Not half of the families in Louisiana, even with their negroes, are as well off as we are, or get along as well. Such economy is practiced, even at Mr. Yarborough's, as *we* do not practice. They burn no candles, nor do [many?] families. Every night the negroes bring a few sticks of pine knot, and this makes all the light used, and a poor one it is.

My best love to your dear, precious mother—to your grand parents—to Spencer,—to Laura—to Frank. Tell them I think of them every hour of the day—yes, every five minutes.

I have bought me a coat for every day wear, for nine dollars. It is very neat—it is a frock coat, and very cheap at that price. A new lot of coats will be brought up from N[ew]. O[rleans]. in a few days when I shall get me a fine coat for Sunday wear.

I write this at my school house. Since I came, one of my scholars rode up here to spend an hour or two, and has kindled up a fire of pine knots in the stove. He said "the fire will burn as soon as it smells these pine knots."

Well, I must close. May Almighty God bless and protect you all.

FATHER.

V.

[Addressed to Mr. Spencer G. Russell, Student, Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, Illinois.[15]]

CARROLLTON, ILLINOIS, NOV. 26TH 1850.[16]
THURSDAY NIGHT.

MY DEAR SPENCER,

When I was at home on Friday last, *Madam, la Mere* said, Spencer says, "I have received but one letter from *father*." And what do you think I said, in reply? Listen, and you shall hear. I said, "Father has had but one letter from *Spencer*." Was not that a very conclusive answer? I believe that even that *one*, was claimed by Frank, though I actually read it, twice or more, myself.

Your Mother says that you are honored with the editorship of the paper. Now, I have the curiosity to know how your paper is managed—in one word, what your paper *is*. It is not a printed sheet, nor can it be that a sheet, in the form of a newspaper, is *written*. If neither of these, what *can* it be? If it is anything practicable, I should like to try it in our school. At any rate, preserve all your papers. Now, while I am on the subject of *preserving*, let me urge you, most earnestly, to keep a copy of all your compositions—of *everything* you write, whether it be good, bad, or indifferent. You will find great use in such a habit. File all of them, and tie them in bundles, if you have not time to copy them into a book. Save all the letters you receive. Fold each, and write at the end, the name of the writer, and the date. Some day your mother's letters will be prized more than gold. They will be all the proof that you have in existence, that your mother was a splendid writer. Her letters are far superior to most letters published in the "*Memoirs*" of ladies. Mr. Peck, ever since he first set foot in the West, has kept every letter he has received, and every pamphlet and handbill, besides keeping a regular Journal of every daily occurrence. The amount of valuable historical facts that he has saved from oblivion is immense.[17]

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[15] Spencer G. Russell was graduated from Shurtleff College in 1853 and subsequently practiced law at Carrollton. He succeeded his father as postmaster at Bluffdale.

[16] Russell was head of the Carrollton Academy, conducted under Baptist auspices, in 1850.

[17] Despite this admirable paternal advice it should be pointed out that John Mason Peck had a motive in thus preserving his miscellaneous materials, as various books, such as *A Gazetteer of Illinois*, 1834, suggest. His valuable library was burned in 1852.

Well, you have a President, at last, and I doubt not the very man they need there.[18] The office is no *sinecure*, and is the least desirable one that can well be imagined. It is difficult, to the last degree, and no man has any security against an utter failure to give satisfaction, whatever may be his qualifications. The post of a professor, though less honorable, is far preferable. I think Shurtleff will now go ahead. The denomination in Northern and Middle Illinois, are *determined* that an active and respectable Baptist college *shall* exist in this state. Much has already been said on that subject, and they are all ready for action. At the late State Convention at Springfield, they appointed a Committee to visit Alton and examine into the state of the college. Their object in this appointment, is not openly expressed, yet it is well known what their designs are. They intend to ascertain whether the prospects of the college are such that public opinion will justify them in getting up a new one at Springfield or Chicago. Unless the appointment of a president, and the action of the Board at their next meeting convinces the "*Northmen*" that a revolution is about to take place in the condition of the college, they will immediately set about making efforts to get up a new college. The feeling among the Baptists is almost universal,—of the Baptists north of Alton,—that unless something efficient is done there, *soon*, *very soon*, they will shew the institution no favor, but abandon it. This feeling is now known to the Trustees, and they will act at their next meeting. They are wakened—widely awakened, at last, and will act with energy. With a good president, and a Prof. of "*Belles Lettres*, *&c.*" who will deliver lectures, the other professors will have time to deliver regular lectures, also. No college can be what it ought to be, without regular lectures from the professors, each a lecture, at least as often as once a week. If there are two lectures, only, twice a week would not be too often. The Prof. of Nat. Philosophy, if he has an apparatus at all, should give lectures on Experimental Philosophy, twice a week. This subject, when the experiments are *seen performed* by the student,

[18] In 1845 Adiel Sherwood resigned as president of Shurtleff College. The institution had no official head until Norman E. Wood was named president late in 1850. He was inducted into office in 1851 and remained until 1855. Wood, like Russell, was a Vermonter and a graduate of Middlebury College.

is tenfold more interesting than when merely studied in a book.

Our school is now very full, and new applications every week. Mr. Townsend has a daughter, some three weeks old. Her name is Juliet Ann in honor of your sister and mother. The child is doing well, but is a *very* small little chap, even for its age. I board at the Hotel—Bowman's. I have a fine room to myself, but have to find my own wood and candles. They set much the best table in town, and everything is in fine style. His daughters attend to the house and do it well, and no mistake. One of them pours the coffee and waits upon the table. She is one of the smartest girls I have seen in the state, and is a splendid girl indeed.

By the by, parties are all breaking up and new ones are forming on very different grounds from those of the old parties. Slavery will be the point on which parties will divide. There are more rank abolitionists in this state than I would have believed. What fools to meddle with the slave. Look at Hayti. In the year preceding the insurrection the export reached almost ninety millions of dollars. The Blacks stepped right into their masters [*sic*] shoes—had plantations, palaces—everything that could be wished. The finest sugar estates and sugar mills that the world ever saw came into hands of these negroes who had done all the labor and had a perfect knowledge of the business. The climate was just the one most suitable to them. If the race is capable of success—*there* was their chance of showing it. What is Hayti now? A desert. Not a pound of sugar is made on the island, and nothing is raised for exportation.[19]

Mrs. Tolman, wife of Rev. J. N. Tolman, died on the 11th. You will see a long obituary in Peck's paper. It is mine.

Affectionately, Father

Friday Morning. Snowed last night and at daylight the ground was all white, and my bucket frozen tight so that it required a smart blow to break it.

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[19] Following the death of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Haiti declared its independence. Henri Christophe was king of a large portion of the island until 1820, and Jean Pierre Boyer was president of the Haitian republic until 1843. Boyer liberated the slaves but was unable to establish a sound national economy. His failure possibly explains Russell's reference.

Of course you will keep what I say to you about the college, all to your self. I am confident that all will now go just right at Shurtleff and knock the plans of the Northmen into forgetfulness. I should, myself oppose under any and all circumstances the attempt to get up a Northern college in this state. No, Shurtleff or none. If we can not succeed at Alton we have only ourselves to blame. Efficient Trustees always make an efficient college. The officers of Shurtleff have had too much to do, by half and have not been paid even for ordinary labors. No one that ever I heard speak of them, spoke otherwise than in the terms of praise. The complaints [*sic*] is not of them.

On looking over my letter I find some things in it about the college that might be misunderstood and do me an injury. You will therefore regard it as confidential.

R.

P. S. My respects to all your friends, individually.

VI.

[Addressed to Spencer G. Russell, Esq. Care of Wyatt & Russell, Atts. and Coun. at Law, Carrollton, Illinois.]

Bluffdale, Greene Co. Ill.
Mond. Morning May 19th, 1856

Spencer G. Russell, Esq.

My Dear Boy,

I have time for a word only. I want, for the nonce, to add to your other occupations that of a Commission Merchant. Will you buy with the enclosed dime a paper of cabbage seed for me, and give it to George? I have been unfortunate in twice sowing seed procured from Calhoun that produced, the first paper, *white mustard*, and the second, *kale*.

I have received from Senator Trumbull, three volumes of very valuable works.[20] I received last mail, also, "*The Triennial Catalogue of McKendree College.*" To my surprise it is all English. I have seen hundreds of *Triennials*, before, but never one that was not in Latin. It tells the present residence and occupation of most of the graduates. Among the graduates of 1854, looms up as large as life, the name of your "*paternal relative*," with what is news to me, at least, that I

[20] Lyman Trumbull (1813-1896) was a United States Senator from Illinois. For a number of years his home was in Belleville.

received the A. B.—in other words graduated, at Hamilton. No matter, I would as soon graduate there as any where. In the present case it seems, as I graduated at Middlebury,[21] that like "*the fatted calf*" I have had the milk of two cows, and ought to have a considerable literary tallow.

O, Spence, your Mother has just *urgently requested* me to tell you to send home every rag of your dirty clothes, sheets, pillow-slips,—in short, every description of cloth that can be improved by a liberal use of soap and cistern water. She says you must not forget it. Send everything, without fail, she says.

On Saturday, May 31st, Rev. Mr. Cole will re-organize the Baptist Church here, with 16 to 18 members. On the next day, Sunday, it is expected that Laura Gates will be baptized and join the church, and the two Deacons, Woolley and Lane, be ordained as such. Come down, if possible. Don't forget it.

I was very glad that the punishment of Pierson was commuted. An execution is not only a *barbarous* but a demoralizing spectacle.

It is time that hanging was blotted out of the statute-book of a state where imprisonment for debt is abolished. At present it looks much like "*straining out a gnat, and drinking a camel.*"

Come down and see us, Spence, do, do.

AFFECTIONATELY, FATHER

[21] Russell took his B. A. degree at Middlebury College in Vermont in 1818.

FORT MASSAC: SINCE 1805

BY NORMAN W. CALDWELL

FORT MASSAC was destined to play an important role in Aaron Burr's "great conspiracy" when the western states and territories became the scene of this drama. Burr and James Wilkinson, then governor of Louisiana Territory, conferred at the Fort in 1805, but little is known about their meeting at that time.[1] During 1805 and 1806 the Fort Massac garrison was busy furnishing details of "Officers, non Commissioned Officers and Musicians" for recruiting in Kentucky and Tennessee.[2] Early in 1806 the garrison was put under orders for

[1] See, for example, Isaac J. Cox, "Western Reaction to the Burr Conspiracy," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1928* (Springfield, 1928), 73-87; Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage* (New York, 1810), II: 3. The only reference to Burr's visit found in the sources is that made in the testimony of Lieutenant Daniel Hughes on behalf of Wilkinson in 1811. Hughes stated that Burr arrived at Massac in his own boat and remained there two days. He left the Fort in Bissell's boat and traveled southward with the troops then descending the Mississippi. Deposition of Captain Daniel Hughes, Jan. 20, 1811, in James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times* (Philadelphia, 1816), II: Appendix.

[2] Inspector General to Major William McRea, May 4, 1805, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Feb. 12, 1805-Sept. 4, 1809, unnumbered pages. (Unless otherwise specified all military documents referred to in this article are in the Old Records Division of the Adjutant General's Office, now in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.). General Orders, St. Louis, Apr. 7, 1806, Wilkinson Order Book, 581.

This is the third and final article in this series on Fort Massac. The first appeared in the Summer, 1950, issue and the second in the Winter number of this Journal. *The author, Norman W. Caldwell, is an associate professor of history at Southern Illinois University and a research grant from that institution made possible, in part, the great amount of work required by these articles.*

a second time to go down the Mississippi, but the records do not reveal whether this movement was actually effected.[3]

When Burr's expedition began to descend the Ohio in the autumn of 1806, Wilkinson suggested countering the movement by assembling the troops stationed at Fort Massac, Vincennes, and other near-by posts at the place called the Iron Banks, some fifteen miles below the modern Cairo, Illinois. The plan proposed moving the artillery from the several posts to this new site. Wilkinson recommended that Captain Daniel Bissell be given command of this enterprise.[4]

At the same time, President Jefferson issued, through the Secretary of War, his famous order of November 26, 1806, instructing post commandants along the rivers to arrest Burr's expedition. The President seemed satisfied that this order would "probably secure the interception of such fugitives from justice as may escape from Louisville."[5] It is clear, however, that the President did not contemplate the certain seizure of Burr's boats on the upper waters, for he instructed Wilkinson at the same time to strengthen his defense works at New Orleans. He wrote also that "we had considered Fort Adams

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[3] Inspector General to Captain Bissell, Apr. 19, 1806, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Feb. 12, 1805-Sept. 4, 1809, unnumbered pages. According to this, all troops in the Indiana Territory excepting the garrison on the Wabash were to be removed. Bissell handed in monthly returns for the Massac garrison on various dates from Oct. 12, 1806, to Dec. 4, 1808. These returns have not been found, though reference is made to them in War Office, Letters Received, III: 18-19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 73, 210. See also Inspector General to Bissell, Sept. 21, 1807, acknowledging returns for April, May, and June, 1807. Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Feb. 12, 1805-Sept. 4, 1809, unnumbered; also same to same, Jan. 8, Apr. 1, 22, 1808, *ibid.;* same to Lieutenant H. Johnson, Feb. 14, 1808, *ibid.;* same to Bissell, Feb. 26, 1808, acknowledging various returns. See also "A statement showing the position of the Troops in January 1808," War Office, Military Book, III: 174-75; Secretary of War to Bissell, July 1, 1808, *ibid.,* 375; Bissell to Secretary of War, May 14, 1808, same to same, Apr. 2, 1808, *ibid.,* IV: 32, 35. After June, 1808, monthly returns from Fort Massac were made by Lieutenant Johnson and a man named Whitlock, though Bissell was nominally still in command of the company. Lieutenant H. Johnson to Secretary of War, June 4, July 1, Sept. 30, 1808, *ibid.,* 205, 206, 209; W. Whitlock to Secretary of War, Aug. 4, Sept. 4, 1808, *ibid.,* 440, 445.

[4] Wilkinson to Jefferson, Oct. 21, 1806, Burr Conspiracy Papers (MSS, Library of Congress). In the light of the role Bissell was to play shortly in permitting Burr's company to pass Fort Massac, one wonders how effective his plan would have been.

[5] Jefferson to ————, Jan. 3, 1807, Harman Blennerhassett Papers (MSS, Library of Congress), 2. For some strange reason this order did not reach Fort Massac for forty days. Professor Channing thinks this was an inordinately long time. Edward Channing, *The Jeffersonian System, 1801-1811* (New York, 1906), 162.

as the place to make a stand because it covers the mouth of the Red River." Nothing is said about Wilkinson's proposal for a stand at the Iron Banks.[6] One can conclude only that neither Wilkinson nor Jefferson actually wanted to keep Burr from descending the rivers.

When the Burr expedition arrived at the mouth of the Cumberland (the force was partly assembled there, Burr himself coming down from Nashville with certain individuals who were to join the group from Blennerhassett Island) the question arose as to whether Captain Bissell would attempt to prevent the expedition from passing Fort Massac.[7] According to the testimony of Sergeant Jacob Dunbaugh, a Massac soldier, made later at Burr's trial, a boat was sent down to Fort Massac on December 26, 1806, containing one of Burr's aides, who had orders "to ask captain Bissell whether he would oppose colonel Burr's passing by the fort." Dunbaugh accompanied Burr's men back to the mouth of the Cumberland, ostensibly to purchase some beef for the use of the garrison. He admits, however, that he carried Bissell's compliments to Burr and that the latter entertained him and asked him to join his party. Dunbaugh testified that Burr also sent Bissell a barrel of apples as a repayment of the compliment. The sergeant returned to Fort Massac on December 28. Dunbaugh's testimony is questionable as to veracity but it is the best evidence available on the subject.[8]

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[6] Jefferson to Wilkinson, Jan. 1, 1807, photostat from *Cincinnati Daily Times,* July 4, 1927, Library of Congress.

[7] Bissell had, of course, not received the Secretary of War's order of Nov. 26. Secretary of War to Wilkinson, Jan. 21, 1807, War Office, Military Book, III: 120. This long letter summarizes the progress of the Burr affair from the official Washington viewpoint. Interestingly enough it contains no instructions for stopping Burr at Massac. Of course, Burr had already passed the Fort by this date.

[8] Examination of Jacob Dunbaugh, Sept. 19, 1807, Burr Trial, as printed in *The Universal Gazette* (Washington, D. C.), Oct. 8, 1807. Dunbaugh's trip to the mouth of the Cumberland may have given rise to the rumor that Burr himself had gone to Fort Massac and had been escorted back to his camp by the troops. See Lexington Dispatch of Jan. 17, 1807, *Universal Gazette,* Feb, 12, 1807. Thomas Hartley, one of Burr's men, later testified that he was at the Fort before Burr's boats arrived. Burr Trial Papers, *American State Papers, Miscellaneous,* I: 508 (cited hereafter as "ASP").

On the evening of December 29, a barge approached Fort Massac "after sundown." What happened is related by Dunbaugh as follows:

> Col. Tyler and Major Hill were in it [the barge], and I think also Major Smith. They went up to Captain Bissell's quarters, where they staid about 20 minutes; and I then heard col. Tyler tell the boat's crew to return to where Col. Burr was encamped; . . . . Between 12 or 1 o'clock that night, col. Burr's boats passed by the fort, and landed about one or two miles below the garrison.[9]

There is, of course, considerable disagreement as to Burr's real purpose. This being true, it follows that the historian may not be justified in hastily condemning Captain Bissell for permitting the expedition to pass the Fort.[10] Bissell wrote Jackson to the effect that Burr's boats contained nothing "that would even suffer a conjecture more than a man bound to market."[11] But Bissell does not seem to have inspected those boats! At least, Dunbaugh and Knox do not say that he did. John Murrell, however, says Bissell told him that he had been on the boats and had seen "no appearance of arms or ammunition."[12]

Even more intriguing is the role played by Dunbaugh after Burr had passed the Fort. Captain Bissell gave the sergeant a furlough and permitted him to accompany Burr down the river, this presumably at Burr's request. Dunbaugh testified that Burr tried to persuade him to steal arms from the Fort and to influence others of the garrison to join the expedition.[13]

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[9] Dunbaugh's Testimony, Sept. 21, 1807, *Universal Gazette,* Oct. 8, 1807. Burr's boats, by this time, had dropped down the river to a point just above the Fort. See Report of James Knox, Burr Conspiracy Papers, Library of Congress.

[10] According to one source Burr's men did not even know the real intent of their leader. The story that Burr intended to go to the Red River country to settle on the Baron de Bastrop's lands was certainly a subterfuge to conceal the real objective of the expedition. See News from Lexington, Jan. 17, 1807, *Universal Gazette,* Feb. 12, 1807.

[11] Bissell to Jackson, Jan. 5, 1807, in Jefferson's Message to Senate and House, Jan. 28, 1807, as published in *Universal Gazette,* Feb. 5, 1807. See also Secretary of War to Wilkinson, Feb. 3, 1807, War Office, Military Book, III: 126.

[12] John Murrell to Andrew Jackson, Jan. 8, 1807, ASP, *Misc.,* I: 473. Murrell had been sent by Jackson to bear a letter to Bissell. He arrived at Fort Massac after Burr's force had passed by.

[13] Dunbaugh's Testimony, Sept. 21, 1807, *Universal Gazette,* Oct. 8, 1807. For a copy of Dunbaugh's furlough, see ASP, *Misc.,* I: 591. According to another

From these facts, it may be safely concluded that Dunbaugh was not a deserter, but rather was acting as Bissell's agent.[14] Wilkinson, who was now active in building up the case against Burr, seemed, nevertheless, anxious to protect Bissell, who in the end declared Dunbaugh to be a deserter. Wilkinson accordingly held Dunbaugh in arrest.[15]

His behavior, in allowing Burr to pass Fort Massac, of course, put Bissell on the defensive. Writing to Jackson on January 5, 1807, he denied that there was anything suspicious or warlike about the Burr expedition, as has been mentioned above.[16] Shortly thereafter, however, Bissell did seize two barges "supposed to be engaged in Col. Burrs expedition." Whether the War Department's order of November 26 had arrived at Fort Massac at this time is not clear.[17] In any case, Bissell was locking the door after the thieves had visited the stable!

When the Secretary of War finally got around to the matter of Bissell's behavior, it seemed that an earnest investigation was in order. The Secretary wrote to Bissell:

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witness Dunbaugh did furnish Burr a small number of cartridges, but this witness did not know whether the powder concerned was government or private property. Examination of Charles Willie before Henry Toulmin, Judge of Mississippi Territory, taken at Fort Stoddert, Apr. 9, 1807, Burr Conspiracy Papers, Library of Congress.

[14] Wilkinson to Jefferson, Mar. 27, 1807, Burr Conspiracy Papers, Library of Congress; same to same, Apr. 3, 1807, *ibid.* Here Wilkinson called Dunbaugh a deserter, though it is plain that the latter bore a furlough signed by Bissell and that he also carried a letter from the Captain to Wilkinson. The contents of this letter reveal little of significance. Bissell to Wilkinson, Dec. 31, 1806, Burr Trial Papers, ASP, *Misc.*, I: 591. Dunbaugh evidently was on close terms with Bissell. He says that before he left Massac he took leave of Mrs. Bissell and that Bissell himself said: "Dunbaugh, *I* wish you success, let you go where you will." Dunbaugh also alleges that Bissell visited Burr at his encampment below Massac on Dec. 30. Dunbaugh's Testimony, Sept. 21, 1807, *Universal Gazette,* Oct. 8, 1807. Dunbaugh also asserted that Bissell had him pose as a spy on Burr, this for his protection against arrest. Dunbaugh to Burr (undated), Burr Trial Papers, ASP, *Misc.*, I: 591.

[15] Wilkinson to Jefferson, Apr. 15, 1807, Burr Conspiracy Papers, Library of Congress. Bissell advertised Dunbaugh as a deserter, offering $10 reward for his arrest. Document in ASP, *Misc.,* I: 592.

[16] Bissell to Jackson, Jan. 5, 1807, in Jefferson's Message to Senate and House, Jan. 28, 1807, *Universal Gazette,* Feb. 5, 1807. In this letter Bissell also stated he had not yet received the Secretary of War's orders of Nov. 26, 1806, relative to stopping Burr's force. It is noticed that Bissell's letter to Jackson of Jan. 5, had reached Washington in only twenty-three days *via* Nashville. See Channing, *Jeffersonian System,* 162.

[17] Bissell to Secretary of War, Jan. 25, 1807, War Office, Letters Received, III: 21.

I have particular reasons for requesting you to State to me in the most explicit manner all circumstances in any manner connected with Colo Burr or his party which took place at Massac or in its vicinity, while he lay at the mouth of Cumberland River or on Cumberland Island or at the time he passed Massac, or while he continued in the immediate vicinity of that Post, including all communications received by you from Burr or any of his party. This Statement I shall expect you to make, as if you were under oath, to tell the truth and the whole truth

Candor demands that I should inform you that your own character and standing in the army may in some measure be affected by the Statement you are requested to make.[18]

There is reference to one letter at least written by one of Bissell's acquaintances concerning the Captain's conduct.[19] Bissell filed his reply to the Secretary of War under date of July 10, 1807.[20] This letter was followed by a later communication in which Bissell enclosed additional documents "in vindication of his character."[21] Since the available records do not furnish information necessary to pass judgment upon Bissell, the historian must rest the case by presenting the facts as known. Two things, however, may be said about Bissell's conduct. In the first place, he probably could not have prevented Burr from passing the Fort even had he wished. According to Dunbaugh there were no cannon at Massac at that time. This fact, plus the width of the river, would have precluded any successful attempt to prevent the boats from descending, especially at night.[22] In the second place, Bissell's reasons for

[18] Secretary of War to Captain Bissell, May 30, 1807, War Office, Military Book, III: 188-89.

[19] William Chribbs to Secretary of War, June 19, 1807, *ibid.*, 50. This letter was marked, "Relative to the conduct of Cap: Daniel Bissell," but has not been found. One wonders what Chribbs' testimony was like. Bissell had once been indicted at Kaskaskia for conspiring to murder Chribbs!

[20] Bissell to Secretary of War, July 10, 1807, War Office, Military Book, III: 25. Unfortunately this letter has not been found; it is only recorded as having been received. It would make an interesting document for use in a study of the Bissell case.

[21] Bissell to Secretary of War, Dec. 28, 1807, *ibid.*, 30. At the trial of Burr, Bissell played only a minor role. His testimony was given over in part to the disparagement of that of Dunbaugh, the Captain insisting that he did not offer his services to Burr, but only presented his compliments. He denied giving Dunbaugh any special instructions in connection with the furlough. Burr Trial Papers, ASP, *Misc.*, I: 591, 592.

[22] Dunbaugh's Testimony, Sept. 21, 1807, *Universal Gazette,* Oct. 8, 1807. It seems strange that no cannon were present at the Fort. Had these been withdrawn by Wilkinson's order?

permitting Burr to pass peaceably must have pleased the Secretary of War and the President of the United States. For proof of this we need only to point out that, far from being censured or disciplined for his action, Bissell in the following year (1808) was promoted from the rank of captain to the rank of lieutenant colonel.[23]

After the excitement arising from the Burr episode, Fort Massac resumed its role as a quiet frontier post. In 1808 it was designated as a center for the assembling of western recruits.[24] In the following year a new company was evidently posted there, this being the company of light artillery commanded by Captain Daniel Gano.[25] Some infantrymen were transferred at that time from Fort Massac to St. Louis.[26] Captain Gano, who presumably commanded at Fort Massac after Bissell's departure, resigned early in 1809 and First Lieutenant Samuel Price of the Light Artillery assumed command of the post.[27]

By the year 1810 the West was again threatened by new Indian wars. Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, were rallying the red men, north and south, to unite against the ever-

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[23] Secretary of War to Bissell, Dec. 15, 1808, War Office, Military Book, IV: 4; Bissell to Secretary of War, Dec. 29, 1808, Jan. 25, 1809, War Office, Letters Received, IV: 47, 49.

[24] Secretary of War to Wilkinson, Dec. 2, 1808, War Office, Military Book, III: 456.

[25] Inspector General to Lieutenant Thomas L. Butler, July 12, 1809, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Feb. 12, 1805-Sept. 4, 1809, p. 149.

[26] Inspector General to Captain James House, Mar. 14, 1809, *ibid.*, 37. It is likely that all of Bissell's company may have been transferred. This letter approves the transfer of five men "to late Capt. Bissell's Company" then at St. Louis, these men being referred to as "belonging to a Detachment of Infantry at Fort Massac." The phrase, "late Capt. Bissell's Company," is confusing because Captain Russell Bissell, who died about 1805, had commanded a company at St. Louis. Daniel Bissell, after his promotion in 1808, assumed the command at St. Louis. See also Inspector General to Bissell, Feb. 11, 1809, *ibid.*, 18-19; same to Colonel Thomas H. Cushing, May 29, 1809, *ibid.*, 113-14. In 1810 an order was issued to the effect that certain infantry clothing on hand at Fort Massac should be delivered to a Captain Floyd, this evidently indicating that infantry were no longer at this post. Secretary of War to Commanding Officer, Fort Massac, Nov. 22, 1810; same to Captain G. R. C. Floyd, same date, Military Book, V: 6-7.

[27] Inspector General to Lieutenant Price, Sept. 25, 1809, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Sept. 4, 1809-Mar. 7, 1811, pp. 20-21. Gano's resignation was accepted Apr. 20, 1809. Price was busy at the end of the year in recruiting activities. Secretary of War to Robert Brent, Dec. 29, 1809, Military Book, IV: 252.

increasing pressure of the American frontiersmen. The peace established at Greenville and extended by the treaties made by William Henry Harrison was becoming uneasy. This situation was aggravated by increasingly bad relations between the United States and England over neutral rights on the sea. Western politicians such as Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and John Sevier would shortly be demanding war with England, not only to vindicate our rights on the sea, but also to remove the danger of Tecumseh and his anti-American agitation. Westerners in general suspected that the English were backing Tecumseh's movement, and this was a not altogether false assumption.

At this time the strength of Massac was probably at the lowest level since the Fort was rebuilt. According to returns made early in 1810 only twenty-eight officers and men were present.[28] This figure was probably increased somewhat by recruiting which was being carried on at that time.[29] As the crisis developed, Lieutenant Price did what he could to put the Fort in order and to repair and refit the arms.[30] In the meantime, William Henry Harrison had precipitated hostilities by marching against Tecumseh's headquarters at Prophetstown, a movement which culminated in the Battle of Tippecanoe Creek.

Fort Massac might have played a major role in the War of 1812 had Tecumseh succeeded in uniting the northern and

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[28] Statement of the present disposition of the Troops of the United States, and of the strength of each Company, taken from the last Returns. Dated Feb. 19, 1810. Military Book, IV: 284-85.

[29] Men being enlisted in this area were attached to the company at Fort Massac. Inspector General to Lieutenant Price, Sept. 13, 1810, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Sept. 4, 1809-Mar. 7, 1811, p. 233. This recruiting was ordered stopped on Mar. 14, 1812. Same to same, Mar. 14, 1812, Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Mar. 8, 1811-July 13, 1812, p. 332. In spite of these efforts, however, Price's company mustered only thirty men in February, 1811. Disposition of Troops, Feb. 21, 1811, Military Book, V: 59.

[30] See Statement of the present disposition of the Troops of the United States and of the strength of each Company taken from the last returns. Feb. 12, 1811, Military Book, V: 59. The officer mentioned as commanding Fort Massac at this time was Captain John H. T. Estes. Shortly thereafter Price is again listed as commandant. List of Commanding Officers, in Inspector's Office, Letters Sent, Mar. 8, 1811-July 13, 1812, p. 6; Price to Secretary of War, May 23, 1811, War Office, Letters Received, V: 327; Price to Secretary of War, Nov. 2, 1811, War Office, Letters Received, VI: 365; Secretary of War to Price, Nov. 30, 1811, Military Book, V: 241.

southern Indian nations in his grand scheme. A British observer, writing in November, 1812, pointed out the strategic position of the Fort in reference to the lower regions.[31] Harrison's attack on Prophetstown in 1811, however, opened the war and found Tecumseh with his organization incomplete. As things developed, the northern tribes, aided by the British, were to fight largely without the help of their southern brethren. Harrison, now a brigadier general in command in the northwest, avenged General Hull's surrender of Detroit in the summer of 1812, by taking the offensive in 1813 and forcing the British and Indians back on Canadian soil.[32] Fort Massac was accordingly destined to play the role of a training center, at the same time keeping watch against possible Indian attacks from the south via the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers.

The approach of war naturally brought uneasiness to the settlers in the Kaskaskia area, and Ninian Edwards, governor of Illinois Territory, suggested that the Massac garrison be removed to Kaskaskia for protection of that area.[33] This proposal was refused, the military forces at St. Louis and Ste Geneviève being considered adequate for the protection of Kaskaskia.

At this time there occurred the famous New Madrid earthquake. Beginning in mid-December, 1811, severe shocks were felt at intervals until early in February. Serious damage to brick and stone work occurred as far north as Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi and as far up the Ohio as Fort Massac.[34]

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[31] T. Tackle to the Earl of Bathurst, Nov. 24, 1812, *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* XX, Madison, 1911, p. 3.

[32] Adjutant General to Colonel William Russell, Aug. 22, 1812, Adjutant General's Office, Letters Sent, May 7, 1812-Oct. 31, 1812, p. 63.

[33] Edwards to Secretary of War, Mar. 3, 1812, C. E. Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1948), XVI: 194. The garrison at Massac numbered only 36 men in June, 1812. The strength at near-by posts then was: Vincennes and vicinity, 117; Fort Madison, 44; Fort Dearborn, 53. Report communicated by the Adjutant General to the House of Representatives, June 13, 1812, in Frank E. Stevens, "Illinois in the War of 1812-1814," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1904* (Springfield, 1904), 115. See also ASP, *Military Affairs,* I: 320.

[34] "It has done considerable damage in this place by demolishing chimnies, and

The amount of earthquake damage at Fort Massac is not revealed, but Lieutenant E. A. Allen, who succeeded Price to the command of the post at that time, made at least two requests for funds for repairs of the works.[35]

In December, 1812, Fort Massac began to receive trainees belonging to the new Twenty-Fourth Regiment of Infantry, an organization then being recruited in Kentucky and Tennessee under Colonel W. P. Anderson. Lieutenant Allen was relieved of the command at Massac, Captain Joseph Phillips of the Twenty-Fourth Infantry succeeding him.[36] Following Phillips' company came all the troops of the Twenty-Fourth Regiment stationed at Knoxville under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Edmund P. Gaines. These troops were stationed at Massac for the purpose of being " armed, clothed, equiped [*sic*], and held in readiness for service."[37]

Fort Massac was totally unprepared to receive such numbers of men, there being a general lack of shelter, equipment, and supplies at the post. Captain Phillips complained "of the insufficiency of the quarters" and stated that his men were "destitute of clothing & suffering."[38] Colonel Anderson sent some clothing from Tennessee on December 14, this probably

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cracking cellar walls.—Some have been driven from their houses, and a number are yet in tents." Dispatch from Cape Girardeau cited in *Kentucky Gazette,* Mar. 17, 1812. On Feb. 11, 1812, Lieutenant Price wrote from Fort Massac stating that "the earthquake has injured the buildings at the fort." This evidently refers to the great shock of Feb. 7, which was more violent than the one of Dec. 15. Price to Secretary of War, Feb. 11, 1812, War Office, Letters Received, VI: 369.

[35] Allen to Secretary of War, Apr. 12, 1812, War Office, Letters Received, VI: 10; same to same, Sept. 8, 1812, *ibid.*, 17. In the latter case he asked for "$200 to complete the Repairs at that fort." In May, 1812, Allen was granted $200 for "repairs" and $200 for enlistment bounties. It is not clear whether the money for repairs was to make good the damage due to the earthquakes or to pay for the repairs on guns and arms which Price had undertaken earlier. Secretary of War to Lieutenant Allen, May 15, 1812, Military Book, V: 389.

[36] Phillips to Secretary of War, Dec. 22, 1812, War Office, Letters Received, VII: 330; same to same, Dec. 6, 1812, *ibid.*, 329. Phillips commanded the fifth company of this regiment.

[37] Anderson to Gaines, Dec. 1, 1812, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1812-1813, Box 15. Gaines became a hero in the War of 1812 and one of the nation's great soldiers. See James W. Silver, *Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Frontier General* (Baton Rouge, 1949).

[38] Phillips to Secretary of War, Dec. 6, 22, 1812, War Office, Letters Received, VII: 329-30.

affording slight relief.[39] When the main force under Gaines arrived in January, however, conditions grew worse.[40] The men were without shelter and in a generally wretched situation. Shelter huts were constructed as quickly as possible, but the men suffered much.[41] Efforts were made through local purchase to relieve the needs of the men for camp equipment.[42] Clothing for six companies was forwarded by the Secretary of War early in January but was still being awaited at Fort Massac in mid-March.[43] Under these conditions it was difficult to keep up morale and to re-enlist men whose terms were expiring.[44] By April clothing and supplies must have arrived, for the troops were by that time ready to move toward the theater of operations.

In March, 1813, Colonel Gaines sent a detachment to Fort Pickering under Lieutenant Joseph Anthony, for the purpose of dismounting the cannon at that post and shipping them up the river to Fort Massac. Anthony's mission was ended early in April when he was ordered to rejoin the Twenty-Fourth Regiment at Massac.[45]

On March 10, 1813, Colonel Anderson was ordered to move the Twenty-fourth Regiment to Cleveland, Ohio.[46] Colo-

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[39] The artillerymen at Massac were also said to be suffering from lack of adequate clothing. Colonel Anderson to Adjutant General, Mar. 12, 1813, Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received, Aug. 4, 1812-June 30, 1813, unnumbered pages.

[40] Gaines expected to reach Fort Massac by Jan. 15, 1813. His troops were moved by boat via the Tennessee River from Knoxville. Gaines to Anderson, Dec. 28, 1812, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1812-1813, Box 15.

[41] Anderson to Secretary of War, Feb. 10, 1813, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1812-1813, Box 15. In February Colonel Anderson visited Fort Massac to superintend the construction of huts. Order of Colonel Anderson, Feb. 8, 1813, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1814-1820, Box 16.

[42] Lieutenant Allen to Secretary of War, Feb. 11, 19, 1813, War Office, Letters Received, VII: 4. These two letters mention expenditures of $770 for "Camp Equipage." Allen was evidently acting as military agent at the post.

[43] Secretary of War to Colonel Anderson, Jan. 9, 1813, Military Book, VI: 265; Anderson to Gaines, Mar. 13, 18, 1813, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1812-1813, Box 15. In his letter of Mar. 13, Anderson mentioned sending 600 gallons of vinegar down to Massac along with butter and vegetables for the officers.

[44] Many of the men had been enlisted for only eighteen months. Anderson to Adjutant General, Feb. 9, 1813, Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received, Aug. 4, 1812-June 30, 1813, unnumbered pages.

[45] Gaines to Anthony, Mar. 19, 23, Apr. 2, 1813, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1812-1813, Box 15.

[46] Adjutant General to Anderson, Mar. 10, 1813, Adjutant General's Office, Letters Sent, Nov. 2, 1812-May 30, 1814, p. 130.

WHERE FORT MASSAC'S BASTIONS LOOKED OUT OVER THE OHIO

The outlines of the old French fortifications are traced in Illinois' first state park.

nel Gaines was overjoyed at the receipt of this order and predicted glorious deeds for the regiment.[47] He at once issued orders to the companies to prepare for the movement and appointed a rendezvous at Louisville for the stray companies of the regiment posted at Bellefontaine and Ste Geneviève.[48] By early May the main force under Gaines was at Harrodsburg, Kentucky. The movement from Massac must have been effected some time in April.[49] Captain Phillips remained at Fort Massac in command of a detachment of the Second Regiment of Artillery.[50]

A year later, in April, 1814, Fort Massac was ordered evacuated, the troops then stationed there being removed to St. Louis. No information has been found in the military records as to the considerations involved. Evidently it was decided not to use the post further as a training center, and the theaters of war were by this time far removed from the lower Ohio. Harrison's victory over the Indians and the British at the Battle of the Thames in September, 1813, had resulted in the death of Tecumseh and in the permanent ascendancy of the Americans over the savages in the Old Northwest.[51] Shortly thereafter an order was issued to abandon Fort Pickering at Chickasaw Bluffs, the small detachment there being sent down to New Orleans.[52] Fort Massac was thenceforth no longer listed as a military post.[53]

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[47] Gaines to Anderson, Apr. 3, 1813, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1812-1813, Box 15.

[48] There was a company of the Twenty-fourth Regiment at each of these posts. There was also a third company elsewhere, though its location is not clear. Gaines to Commanding Officers at Bellefontaine and Ste Geneviève, Apr. 2, 4, 1813, *ibid.*

[49] Gaines to Adjutant General, May 4, 1813, War Office, Letters Sent and Received, 1812-1813, Box 15.

[50] Adjutant General to Captain Phillips, Dec. 24, 1813, Adjutant General's Office, Letters Sent, Nov. 2, 1812-May 30, 1814, p. 304.

[51] Adjutant General to Captain Joseph Phillips, Apr. 15, 1814, Adjutant General's Office, Letters Sent, Nov. 2, 1812-May 30, 1814, p. 470.

[52] Adjutant General to Commanding Officer, Fort Pickering, June 21, 1814, Adjutant General's Office, Letters Sent, May 30, 1814-Feb. 29, 1816, p. 46.

[53] Distribution of the army of the United States, showing the strength of posts and garrisons Dec. 1, 1817, ASP, *Military Affairs,* I: 671-72; Report of Oct., 1818, *ibid.*, 789-90.

It is not clear as to what disposition was made of the buildings and property at Fort Massac. Brown describes the Fort as being "dismantled" in 1817.[54] Nuttall pays no attention to the place in his journal, though he passed by the site.[55] Shadrach Bond, in 1820, gave the opinion that "the works are of little value and it will be unnecessary ever to occupy them again with a Military force."[56] Maximilian of Wied visited the site in March, 1833, and described the ruins. Only stones remained at that time.[57] Conclin's statement, in 1850, that the Fort was burned "a few years ago" is certainly erroneous.[58] Later the site was maintained as a park by the city of Metropolis and in 1903 it became a state park.

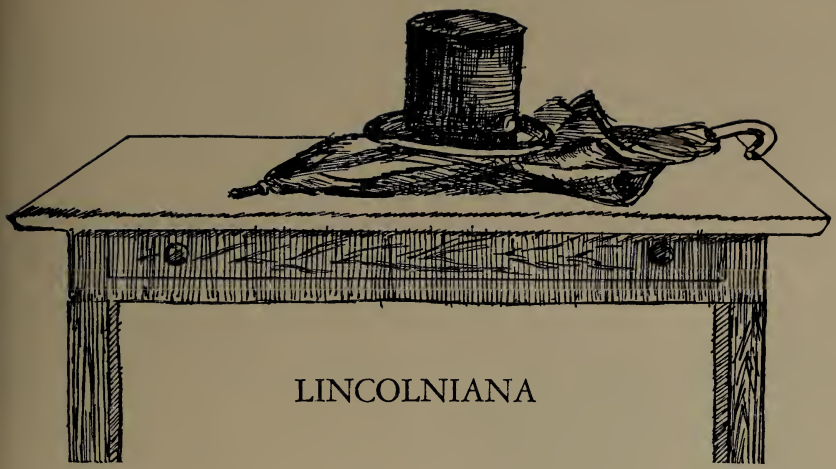
[54] Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer or Emigrant's Directory* (Auburn, N. Y., 1817), as quoted in *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1908, p. 307.

[55] Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory During the Year 1819* (Philadelphia, 1821), reprint in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XIII: 71.

[56] Bond to General Henry Atkinson, Oct, 26, 1820, *Illinois Historical Collections*, IV, Springfield, 1909, p. 30.

[57] Maximilian of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America* (London, 1843), in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XXII: 203-4.

[58] George Conclin, *Conclin's New River Guide or a Gazetteer of All the Towns on the Western Waters* (Cincinnati, 1850), 64.



LINCOLNIANA

FURNITURE FROM THE LINCOLN HOME

Household furniture which belonged to Abraham Lincoln and was used by his family is exceedingly rare. So scarce, in fact, are such articles that the Lincoln home, although a state-owned shrine, is furnished principally with pieces from the pre-Civil War period which were not among the original furnishings. When the Lincolns went to Washington in 1861 they disposed of the furnishings of their Springfield home; most of them went to the man who rented the house. These articles were later taken to Chicago and there were destroyed in the Chicago fire.

However, a number of items were obtained by other persons, one group being sold to Dr. Samuel Houston Melvin, Springfield druggist and neighbor of the Lincolns. Dr. Melvin later moved to California and took along with him at least two of the articles he purchased. These were a whatnot and a large wardrobe and they are now in the municipal museum of Oakland, California. The whatnot is on display but the wardrobe is tucked away in a crowded storeroom.

These articles were loaned to the museum by the late Henry A. Melvin, of San Francisco, son of Dr. Melvin and a justice of the Supreme Court of California. Also, the museum custodian has the original bill of sale dated February 9, 1861, and signed by Lincoln. This shows that fifteen items were purchased by Dr. Melvin. In addition to the wardrobe and whatnot there were six chairs, a stand, a piece of "stair carpet," a spring mattress, and four comforters. Dr. Milton H. Shutes, author of *Lincoln and the Doctors,* in the course of his research, has interviewed descendants of Dr. Melvin and learned that the whereabouts of the other items is unknown to members of the family. Incidentally, the original copy of one of Lincoln's lectures on "Discoveries and Inventions" has been handed down

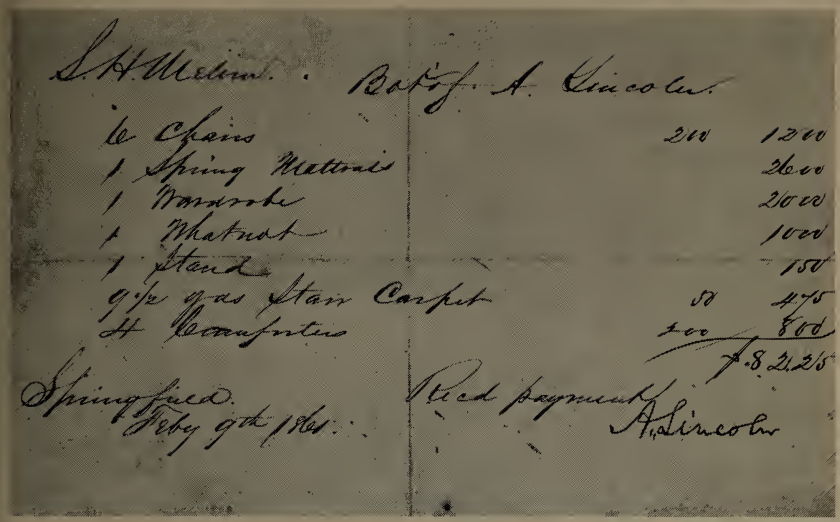
to Bradford M. Melvin, San Francisco attorney and son of Judge Melvin.

Dr. Samuel Houston Melvin moved from Steubenville, Ohio, to Springfield in 1858 and lived at the northeast corner of Eighth and Market streets, just a block north of the Lincolns. He prospered as a "Wholesale and Retail Druggist and Dealer in Perfumery, Toilet Goods, Cigars, etc., etc., North West Corner Public Square"[1] and also became a civic leader and a friend of Abraham Lincoln who was his attorney. Later Dr. Melvin was one of the Illinois delegation of eleven who escorted the body of Lincoln from Washington to Springfield. Then he was one of the fifteen incorporators and directors of the National Lincoln Monument Association. All these men, said John Carroll Power, "had long been on

Lincoln's Wardrobe—Now in a storeroom of the city museum of Oakland, California.

WHATNOT THAT SOLD FOR $10—Among the articles purchased by Dr. S. H. Melvin in 1861.

[1] *Campbell & Richardson's Springfield City Directory and Business Mirror for 1863.*



Photos courtesy Dr. Milton H. Shutes

Bill of Sale Signed by Lincoln

On February 9, 1861, just two days before he left Springfield for Washington, Lincoln sold the household furnishings listed here to Dr. Melvin. The wardrobe and whatnot are in California and the whereabouts of the rest is unknown.

terms of personal friendship and intimacy with Abraham Lincoln."[2]

Although he is best known as a Springfield druggist of the Lincoln period, Dr. Melvin was a banker and well on his way to becoming a railroad tycoon when the panic of 1873 struck. He was president of the Springfield Savings Bank, and then or earlier had been president of the Gilman, Clinton and Springfield Railroad; the Springfield and St. Louis; and the Keokuk and Kansas City. He was able to save the bank but lost his personal fortune in the panic.

Early in 1875 Dr. Melvin moved his family to California where he engaged in a number of enterprises, including the operation of a drugstore. In 1889 he was appointed dean of the department of pharmacy, University of California, and was also named president of the California State Board of Pharmacy. He died in 1898 at the age of sixty-nine, after a busy and successful life that included three years of neighborly friendship with Abraham Lincoln.

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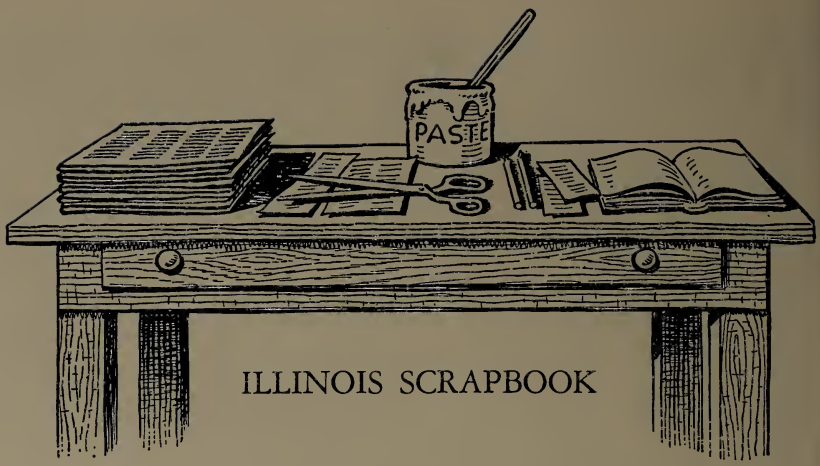
[2] *Abraham Lincoln, His Great Funeral Cortege, from Washington City to Springfield, Illinois, with a History and Description of the National Lincoln Monument, (1872).*



ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

AN 1841 VERSION OF THE PIASA LEGEND

This version of the Piasa story is from Lewis F. Thomas, ed., The Valley of the Mississippi *(St. Louis, 1841), pp. 71-73:*

The Piasau, or Pi-as-sau Rock, so called from a remarkable legend connected with it, is situated on the northern confines of the city of Alton, immediately on the Mississippi, from the surface of which it rises to a height of nearly an hundred feet, including a receding base of broken and shelving rock, extending about thirty feet from the water's edge, and about the same distance in height. Its summit is sparsely studded with dwarf cedars, and it presents a craggy and jagged front, with the exception of a space of about fifty feet by forty, which is smooth and even. On this space is emblazoned the figure of a hybridous animal, having a head resembling that of a fox, from which protrude large horns or antlers; its back is supplied with wings, and it has a long curling tail, and four feet, or rather, four huge claws. The sketch of the figure is very rough, and evidently executed by no master hand. It seems to have been first drawn with a species of red paint, and afterwards rubbed over and polished with lime, or some other white substance.

Immediately in the rear is another figure, but so obliterated by time, and by being marked over with the names of ambitious visitors, (who have taken this only available method of making themselves known to fame,) that it is impossible to trace its outline; it is probable, however, from the few marks visible, that it was intended to represent an animal similar to the former, but in a different position. The figure, which remains entire, is about eight feet long and five in height, to the tip of the wing, which is

thrown upward over the back. The Piasau Rock is the lower extremity of the bluffs, which, commencing at Alton, extend northward up the Mississippi. It has been marked, as we have described, "from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary"; and what is most remarkable, the tradition connected with it, is not confined to a few tribes of Indians only, but seems to exist among all the aboriginal inhabitants of the Great West, none of whom, even to this day, pass the rock without discharging their arrows or rifles, at the figures, upon and around which, are innumerable marks of balls and other missiles.

The legend, as we heard it, is as follows: The numerous and powerful nation, called the Illinois, formerly inhabited the state which now bears their name, over the greater portion of which their hunting grounds extended. For very many years they continued to increase in numbers and prosperity, and were deemed the bravest and most warlike of all the tribes of the Great Valley. At length, in the most populous district of their country, near the residence of their greatest chief, there appeared an enormous animal, part beast, part bird, which took up its abode on the rock, and banquetted daily upon numbers of the people, whom it bore off in its immense talons. It was covered with scales of every possible color, and had a huge tail, with a blow of which it could shake the earth; from its head, which was like the head of a fox with the beak of an eagle, projected immense horns, and its four feet were armed with powerful claws, in each of which it could carry a buffalo. The flapping of its enormous wings was like the roar of thunder, and when it dived into the river, it threw the waves far up on the land. To this animal they gave the name of the "Bird of the Pi-as-au," or bird of the evil spirit.

In vain did the "medicine men" use all their powers to drive away this fearful visitor. Day by day the number of their tribe diminished, to feed his insatiate appetite. At last the young chief of the nation, Wassatogo, who was beloved by his people, and esteemed their bravest and best warrior, called a council of the priests, in a secret cave, where, after fasting for many days, they slept, and the Great Spirit came to the young chief in his sleep, and told him the only way to rid his people of their destroyer, was to offer himself as a sacrifice. Wassatogo started up with joy, and arousing the slumbering priests, informed them of what had occurred to him, and of his determination to make the sacrifice required. He then assembled the tribe, and made a speech, recounting his deeds of valor, acquainting them of his dream, and exhorting them, like him, to be ever ready to die for their people. Wassatogo then dressed himself in his chieftain's garb, put on his war paint, as if going to battle, and taking his bow, arrows and tomahawk, he placed himself on

a prominent point of the rock, to await the coming of the monster-bird. Meanwhile, as he had been directed in his vision, a band of his best braves had been concealed in the interstices of the rock, each with his arrow drawn to the head, waiting the moment when their chief should be attacked, to wreak their last vengeance on their enemy. High and erect the bold Wassatogo stood, chaunting his death dirge, with a calm and placid countenance, when suddenly there came a roar as of awful thunder, and in an instant the Bird of the Pias-sau, uttering a wild scream that shook the hills, darted upon and seized the chieftain in his talons, at that moment, Wassatogo dealt it a blow in the head with his tomahawk, and his braves let fly their arrows from the ambush, and the unwieldy carcass of the bird rolled down the cliff, while the chieftain remained unhurt.

The tribe now gave way to the wildest joy, and held a great feast in honor of the event, and to commemorate it, painted the figure of the bird, on the side of the rock on whose summit Wassatogo had stood, and there it has endured for ages, a mark for the arrow or bullet of every red man, who has since passed it, in ascending or descending the great father of waters.

GREAT SENSATION ON THE SEAGIRT SHORE

At the time Mary Todd Lincoln and her party, including Mrs. Hannah Shearer (see page 23), visited Long Branch, New Jersey, the following paragraph appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly *(August 24, 1861, p. 231):*

Mrs. Lincoln's visit to Long Branch has caused a great sensation along that "Seagirt Shore." It was designed that 34 little girls, all dressed in white, should receive her at the depot, but only 27 could be found and got ready in time. Jenkins, of the *Herald*, states that "next Wednesday or Thursday, a grand ball will be given at the Mansion House. As Mrs. Lincoln is a great admirer of music, never misses an opportunity to visit the opera, and has already delighted the *habitués* of the White House by a few *recherché* private concerts at Washington, it is designed to secure Carlotta Patti, the only rival of Adelina, for a grand concert in Mrs. Lincoln's honor, to be given some time next week. This was undoubtedly the object of Grau's visit here last week, of which I wrote you, and we may shortly expect to see him here again. Grau's terms, however, always rise with the occasion, and he has such a gem in Carlotta that he is fairly master of the situation. I think she will come, however, as negotiations are already in progress. Mrs. Lincoln cannot but be pleased with such an entertainment. Mrs. Lincoln designs to

remain here for about 10 days. Carriages and riding ponies have been provided for the whole party, and I am sure that there is every disposition and every arrangement to make their stay here comfortable and enjoyable."

"ONE WAY OF COLLECTING A BAD BILL"

Addison L. Fulwider gives this account of a "sharp collector" in his History of Stephenson County, Illinois *(Chicago, 1910), Vol. I, pp. 88-89:*

At the Old Settlers' Meeting at Cedarville, 1875, Mr. D. A. Knowlton, Sr., of Freeport, told the following story which indicates one way of collecting a bad bill. He said: "You know that I was always called a sharp collector. One day, a man named Charlie Hall came into my store with an order for goods, but he wanted more goods than the order called for. I said, 'Charley, I cannot trust you; and "no" is a word I can always say in business matters.' 'But,' pleaded Hall, 'let me have them, Mr. Knowlton, and I will pay you next week.' I then made the following bargain with him: 'If you do not pay me the balance as per agreement, I shall have the privilege of kicking you every time I see you till the debt is paid.' For several weeks the countenance of Hall did not grace my store; but after a while he appeared and walking into my store, I said: 'Charles, I would like to see you a moment outside.' and when out I gave him a very violent kick. Hall turned around and said, 'Knowlton, what is that for?' 'According to agreement,' said I. The sequel to the case was that in a few days Hall brought in a load of corn to me, in payment of the debt which I received and placed to his credit. I afterwards learned that he was trusted for the corn by a farmer in order to avoid any further indorsements of my contract. It is unnecessary to add that the farmer was never paid for the corn."

ILLINOIS HAD A BIG COTTON CROP IN '65

Under the heading "Domestic Miscellany" this paragraph appeared in the Christian Advocate and Journal, *New York, December 14, 1865:*

From southern Illinois come glowing accounts of the success of the cotton crop in that section this year. A Carbondale correspondent, writing to the CAIRO DEMOCRAT, says the cotton crop has been exceedingly good in that vicinity, far better than the most sanguine predicted. Wagon after wagon load of this staple commodity may be seen going to the cotton gins, of which there are six in active operation in that town, turning out from five to seven bales each, daily. The quality of cotton is pronounced excellent by good judges of the staple, and the farmers claim to be able to raise as good as that produced anywhere.

BOOK REVIEWS

Theodore Weld, Crusader for Freedom. By Benjamin P. Thomas. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, 1950. Pp. xii, 307. $4.25.)

This is the story of another poor New England farm boy who demonstrated that zeal, integrity, and a belief in certain fundamental truths can make a career and influence the course of human events. Out of the story one becomes aware once more of how much of history in its larger aspects of movements, institutions, political and economic patterns, and even its national character, devolves from single individuals, all but forgotten in the present day. There would probably have been an abolition movement without Weld, and very likely a civil war without an abolition movement. Still it is in no small measure due to Weld and his followers that America is today a country in which human freedom is held dearer than any right of ownership of whatever material property.

In telling Theodore Weld's story, Dr. Thomas establishes pretty thoroughly the thesis set forth by the late Gilbert H. Barnes that Weld was abolition's "man of power, the greatest individual factor in its triumph." Although William Lloyd Garrison and his vocal New England following will always have a prominent place in the story, historians cannot hereafter proceed on the assumption that Garrison and his *Liberator* were the principal factors in the movement. Most of the political effectiveness of abolitionism derived from Weld and his followers in the new Western states, rather than from Boston.

Dr. Thomas avows a purpose of giving the reader a new conception of the abolitionists: "It has too long been the fashion to scoff at them, to write them off as humorless fanatics, to ignore their rich humanity, and to minimize the tremendous impact of moral convictions they avowed. And to misjudge

the force of moral humanism invites distortion of history." For the reviewer the story of Theodore Weld effects this purpose. Weld is a man worth knowing not merely because he was an abolitionist, nor even the greatest abolitionist, but because his life, more than his abolitionism, illustrates the truth of Christian idealism.

The natural climax of the book surpasses fiction when, after the Civil War, Weld discovers that two mulatto boys are the nephews of his beloved wife. Angelina Grimké and her sister Sarah had left their patrician society in South Carolina to espouse abolitionism and reform, and Angelina had found, through abolitionism, her Theodore. It is an old-fashioned, humorous, and altogether delightful love story until the fatal and humiliating day when she discovers that her brother Henry, who had remained in South Carolina, had fathered two sons, Archibald and Francis Grimké, by Nancy Weston, a beautiful slave. The discovery was a harrowing experience which, as Dr. Thomas suggests, probably contributed to Angelina's decline, but both she and her sister were in agreement with Theodore that the relationship should be acknowledged and that Archibald and Francis should be received in the Weld household and given every assistance to further their education and progress in the world. That Archibald Grimké became one of the great Negro leaders of his time, more famous until recently than his uncle Theodore, was, in part at least, the result of the recognition and assistance given by the Welds.

Although Weld was a great abolitionist, abolitionism did not provide his major interest in life. Even during the years when he devoted practically all his time and energy to the cause, Weld's personal philosophy held the abolition of slavery as only one of several goals toward which he expected American society to move. He believed in progress and worked for the perfection of mankind. Like many of his contemporaries he would not avoid reform by political means, but his basic program was educational. His work in the manual education movement seems to have impressed him as fundamentally more enduring, if less spectacular, than abolitionism. The fruits of this movement are still a potent force in American civilization and, in fact, may be largely credited with producing the peculiar blend of intellectual and manual (technical) competence which characterizes American civilization and makes the American somewhat of an anomaly to the rest of the world.

The best thing about *Theodore Weld, Crusader for Freedom,* as about any good biography, is that it is deftly narrated and brings to life a man of the last century who is well worth knowing. The past lives in the book

with the reality of the present because the author lived with his subject. When scholarship and imagination combine with deftness of style, history is a delight as well as a discipline.

Springfield. ROY P. BASLER.

The Emergence of Lincoln. By Allan Nevins. (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1950. Two volumes, Pp. xii, 472; viii, 524. $12.50.)

These two volumes continue the account by Allan Nevins of the fateful fifteen years preceding the Civil War, which he began in *Ordeal of the Union* (1947). They cover the years 1857-1861, ending with Lincoln's inauguration. Although primarily a political history, the author has not neglected cultural, social, and economic developments. Chapters are included on literary developments, the Panic of 1857 and the recovery from its effects, and the growth of the West. The major theme of the two volumes necessarily is a political one: the contest between North and South culminating in secession and war.

Illinois readers will be particularly interested in the account of the Lincoln-Douglas debates (Chapter XIV of Volume 1). Nevins points out that "for both nation and State, the debates, which were at first overestimated in value and later underestimated, did contribute to a clarification of issues."

The author has given us descriptions of the characters and the abilities of the leading men of the period, and many minor ones as well. Three figures stand out, one a weakling, and two men of strength. James Buchanan, President during the period covered by these two volumes, was unsuited for an executive post in "a time of grim pressure." He lacked "iron nerve, decisive action, and a power of bending men to his will" at a time when such qualities were needed.

Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois, as a congressional fighter, was "the most impressive figure in the country." His best trait was "his faith in the expansive energies of the American people." Douglas' "finest hour" came in 1860, when, realizing that his own defeat in the presidential race was certain, he converted his campaign from a battle for the presidency into one for the Union. He carried his campaign to the South, seeking to rally men to the Union.

During his campaign for the presidency, Lincoln, unlike Douglas, minimized the danger of Southern secession. He was "deplorably complacent," and accepted assurances that "in no probable event will there be any very formidable effort to break up the Union." "One of the most fateful decisions of Lincoln's career" was his refusal as President-elect to approve the Crittenden Compromise, with its proposal that the "36-30" line between slave and

free territory be revived in the West. He was firmly committed to the principle of the non-extension of slavery. "Could the one leader who had demanded that the country face the crisis [over the extension of slavery] now flinch and bid his party recede? To this question, Lincoln said *No.*"

Throughout these two volumes Nevins advances the thesis (as summarized in the last chapter) that "the main root of the conflict" between the sections "was the problem of slavery with its complementary problem of race-adjustment; the main source of the tragedy was the refusal of either section to face these conjoined problems squarely and pay the heavy cost of a peaceful settlement." As the author points out, "had it not been for the difference in race, the slavery issue would have presented no great difficulties." Certainly the persistence of a "race problem" in this country eighty-five years after the close of the Civil War points up the soundness of this interpretation.

The Civil War, Nevins concludes, was not primarily a conflict over State Rights, nor was it over economic grievances. It was not a war created by politicians and publicists who fomented hysteria, nor was it a war about slavery alone. Rather, "it was a war over slavery *and* the future position of the Negro race in North America." Faced with this problem, the Americans of 1861, "as for many other peoples throughout history," found that "war was easier than wisdom and courage."

Every student of American history, every thoughtful citizen who reads these volumes by Allan Nevins will feel indebted to him. The dangers to the nation from fanaticism, from inept leadership, and from the overthrow of reason by passion, were real in 1857 to 1861. They are never absent.

Eastern Illinois State College. CHARLES H. COLEMAN.

The Territory of Illinois, 1814-1818. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (United States Government Printing Office: Washington, 1950. Pp. 672. $4.00.)

The final volume of records of Illinois Territory in the masterfully edited series of territorial papers has placed at the disposal of students of Illinois and Western history a virtually complete compendium of official records in Washington. These are from the files of all of the agencies dealing with the territories, but principally the General Land Office, the Surveyor General's Office, the Office of Indian Affairs, the Office of Indian Trade, the Adjutant General's Office, Post Office, and the State, Treasury, and War departments. The breadth of resources from which these papers are drawn, the many cross references, the numerous references to materials located in private and public collections other than the archives, and the meticulous

noting of routine reports not included in this compilation bespeak enormous labor to be saved by the user and at the same time, great diligence and care expended by the editor.

The volume is opened on an exciting note with a letter from General Howard at St. Louis reporting the failure of an expedition to reach Prairie du Chien because of an Indian attack excused by somwhat familiar words, "the enemy lost five times as many." It spans the period from the last phases of the War of 1812 to the end of the territorial regime. Indian affairs, including the pacification after the war, trade, interference with surveys, and cessions of land occupy much space. The survey, sale, lease, and management of the public domain is the subject of more correspondence than any other. Postal advertisements and contracts show the addition to settled areas. Vermonters and Baltimore Irish are interested in large grants. The Military Tract is surveyed and the parcels drawn by lot. Politicians, particularly Kentucky politicians, seek territorial offices.

There is a wealth of Edwards material. Petitions illustrate frontier discontents. Finally, the executive register, 1809-1818, contains appointments to the militia and local offices and here the roll of the territorial great and near great appears.

Illinois College. JOHN S. WRIGHT.

Main Line of Mid-America: The Story of the Illinois Central. By Carlton J. Corliss. (Creative Age Press: New York, 1950. Pp. 490. $4.75.)

When Stephen A. Douglas persuaded Congress to endow the proposed Illinois Central Railroad with a vast grant of land, he launched an experiment in disposing of the public domain. And when, within two years, the government had not only sold every acre of its remaining lands within six miles of the right-of-way for two to four times the price at which they had been offered previously, but had also disposed of millions of acres more distant from the railroad, Douglas had not only established a new national policy, but had enormously promoted the growth of Illinois. The state soon led the country in producing corn and wheat, and stood second in value of livestock. Mineral production also increased rapidly as improved transportation facilities transformed Illinois from prairie and wilderness to a thriving agricultural and commercial commonwealth.

From modest beginnings the Illinois Central pushed north, south, east, and west, laying new tracks here, absorbing an established and perhaps struggling railroad there, venturing, expanding, improving. In a single day it reset 550 miles of track from Cairo to New Orleans in changing from

broad to standard gauge. In 1889 it bridged the Ohio River at its widest point in a triumph of engineering.

The Illinois Central pioneered in large-scale agricultural promotion. It encouraged the development of industry along its lines. As early as 1866 it developed a method of shipping strawberries in ice-packed chests from Cobden to Chicago, not only inaugurating refrigerator service but also making possible the growth of a vast strawberry industry in southern Illinois. It cultivated a traffic in bananas that grew to more than a thousand carloads weekly.

The Illinois Central was probably the first railroad in America to engage in reforestation. It promoted a dairy industry in Mississippi through demonstration farms and by buying pure-bred bulls to loan to farmers. Its regular and suburban service has contributed immeasurably to the growth and prosperity of Chicago. During World War II no less than 142 important military training centers, war plants, aviation centers, and supply depots were located along its tracks, necessitating a miracle of transportation. For in the six years ending on December 31, 1945, the freight handled by the Illinois Central would have filled fifteen trains, each reaching from Chicago to New Orleans.

The Illinois Central can claim association with a galaxy of well-known names. William H. Bissell, James Shields, John Wentworth, John A. McClernand all helped Douglas to obtain its land grant. Mark Twain piloted an I. C. river steamer on the Cairo to New Orleans run. Abraham Lincoln also worked for the land grant during his single term in Congress. Incidentally, Douglas did take his seat in the U. S. Senate at the same time that Lincoln entered the national House. But the date was December, not March, 1847.

Many distinguished men have served as officers and directors of the company. And here, also, is to be found the authentic story of Casey Jones, its best known engineer!

The Illinois Central employed Lincoln for several years as an attorney and paid him the largest fee he ever received. A question perplexing Lincoln students, which Mr. Corliss also leaves unanswered, has recently been solved in the course of the Abraham Lincoln Association's preparation of the complete edition of Lincoln's writings. A report of Lincoln's speech at Monmouth, Illinois, on October 11, 1858, offers convincing evidence that Lincoln *was* employed by the company to help obtain its charter from the State of Illinois.

This centennial history is an authentic, often exciting story of a great railroad's contribution to the building of America. Always one of the most progressive of our railroads, the Illinois Central offers a striking example

of how a great capitalistic enterprise prospers by seeking to improve the welfare of those it serves.

Springfield. BENJAMIN P. THOMAS.

Diplomacy and Indian Gifts. By Wilbur R. Jacobs. (Stanford University Press: Stanford, Calif., 1950. Pp. 208. $5.00.)

Historians of the frontier have long recognized that Jeffrey Amherst's order stopping gifts to the Indians was partly responsible for Pontiac's Rebellion, but few have realized the role of presents in the diplomacy of the late eighteenth century. Hence this compact monograph, which studies the problem for the period of 1748-1763, not only fills a real need, but does so most satisfactorily.

The author, who prepared his study as a doctoral dissertation at the University of California at Los Angeles, first demonstrates the importance of gifts among the Indians themselves, then describes the presents that were most acceptable: blankets of stroud, clothing of all sorts save wigs and breeches, weapons, finery for squaws, toys for children, medals, food, and especially rum. The French, he finds, were better equipped to distribute these items widely than were the English, largely because their closely-knit empire gave them an advantage that offset the superiority of Britain's manufactures.

Having set the stage with these generalizations, Dr. Jacobs, in a series of excellent chapters, shows the importance of gifts in cementing the Anglo-Iroquois alliance in the years after King George's War, then he traces the spread of English influence among the Ohio Valley Indians that accompanied the distribution of presents by George Croghan, Conrad Weiser and others. Their success, he believes, forced the French to destroy Pickawillany in 1752, then launch a counter-program of gift-giving which was so successful that by 1754 the natives had shifted allegiance, allowing the construction of Fort Duquesne. England's failure to learn a lesson from this success was shown when an inadequate use of presents proved partially responsible for the defeat suffered by Braddock. William Johnson, on the other hand, employed gifts so wisely that he was successful in his 1755 Lake George campaign. A final chapter that deals with the remaining campaigns of the war, is too compressed to be completely satisfactory.

Dr. Jacobs clearly shows the importance of gifts in Indian diplomacy. His book should be required reading for careful students of the period; its pedantic style and overwhelming array of footnotes will have less appeal to other readers. A complete bibliography demonstrates the author's famili-

arity with the principal manuscript sources available in the United States, while illustrations, end-paper maps, and an excellent index add to the usability of the book.

Northwestern University. RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON.

Americans from Norway. By Leola Bergmann. (J. B. Lippincott: Philadelphia, 1950. Pp. 324. $3.50.)

In *Americans from Norway* Mrs. Bergmann has written an interpretation of the role played by Norwegians in the building of America. The author has ample background for this study—she was born in South Dakota, a grandchild of the immigrant pioneers about whom she writes. Her early years were spent in communities of this minority group and her college days were at St. Olaf, where she came under the influence of several of their more intellectual leaders. She completed her graduate work at the University of Iowa in the field of American civilization.

About half of the book deals with the spread of Norwegian settlements throughout the nation, beginning with the Norse Vikings in the East and moving westward into the prairie states and later into the Pacific Northwest. Attention in these chapters is given not only to the background in Norway and the influences that brought them to this country, but considerable space is taken up with such topics as leadership among the pioneers, their hardships in the New World, religious schisms, occupational adjustments, and the organization of their churches, schools, and newspapers. Running throughout the narrative is the difficult struggle these settlers had acculturating themselves to the American way of life.

Not all Norwegians took to the soil as is generally believed, but many found occupations in the larger cities and logging camps, and some remained on the sea. The story of the sea captains makes interesting reading and the ethnocentrism of the urban dwellers will aid the sociologists in their study of minority groups.

The concluding phase of the book consists of a lengthy narration of outstanding individuals and their contributions in the fields of science, letters, business, arts, engineering, and sports. An interesting interpretation of the role of the Norwegian in American political life is also given.

This study is not a definitive work for the scholar but it is an excellent contribution for the lay reader. Though it is somewhat eulogistic and lacking in critical analysis on some topics, it is well written and balanced. The reader, no doubt, will soon discover that the author has not been able to exercise complete detachment throughout the book; her biases do show, especially in the religious and intellectual controversies that were constantly

besetting these people. Mrs. Bergmann has exploited some of the primary sources in Midwestern libraries, although there are no footnote citations and the bibliographical references are almost entirely to printed materials that have been available to scholars for some time. The book is attractive in format, has an adequate index and on the whole it is on a higher level than its companion volume, *Americans from Sweden,* in the "Peoples of America" series.

Northern Illinois State Teachers College. E. W. HAYTER.

The Augustana Lutheran Church in America, Pioneer Period, 1846 to 1860. By Oscar N. Olson. (Augustana Book Concern: Rock Island, 1950. Pp. xvi, 397. $3.50.)

The author of this work is the director of historical research of the Augustana Lutheran Church, and the foreword is supplied by the president of that organization of Swedish Lutherans. The volume is based on the extensive materials available in the library of Augustana College, including manuscript collections, newspaper and periodical files, church reports, and secondary works. Within the limitations of official church history, the author has produced a documented, descriptive survey of his church body. The primary value of the book lies in the comprehensiveness of factual coverage. For a more critical study one must read George M. Stephenson's *Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (Minneapolis, 1932) which is easily the best account of the religious history of any of the Scandinavian groups in America.

Of the twenty-six (not numbered) chapters, three deal rather sketchily with the Swedish background of emigration and church life, five with aspects of Swedish emigration and settlements in America before 1860, and the remainder with congregational and synodical history. The author commendably endeavors to show the relationships of the Swedish Lutherans with other church groups. Doctrinal controversies receive only brief attention. Perhaps inevitably, much attention is devoted to leading personalities such as Esbjorn, Hasselquist, Andrén, Norelius, and Carlsson. Lengthy sections deal with matters of congregational and synodical organization, primarily from the administrative standpoint. From these sections one also gathers impressions of the rapid expansion of the church in the Midwest and the upper Midwest.

Certain experiments are reported and possess special interest. One of these was the attempt to make use of the support of the American Home Missionary Society, notably for the church at Andover, Illinois, under the pastorate of L. P. Esbjorn. Even more interesting was the ill-starred experi-

ment of a Scandinavian professorship in the Illinois State University at Springfield from 1858 to 1860. The first and only incumbent, Professor Esbjorn, taught chemistry, astronomy, catechetics, Jewish antiquities, Greek New Testament, and Swedish and Norwegian grammar, not to mention devoting two hours on Saturdays to debates and literary exercises, for all which the professor received only $428 per year of a promised $700, to support a family of six. For financial and doctrinal reasons, Esbjorn resigned in March, 1860.

The author deals fairly with the problem of retention of loyalties to Lutheranism in the face of emigrant resentment against some of the more authoritarian features of the Swedish national church and the attractions of other sects such as the Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Mormons. The democratic nature of the pioneer congregational constitutions is brought out, as well as the federal nature of the synodical organization. All too brief space is devoted to the social aspects of pioneer congregational life, but such material is possibly being reserved for a later volume.

There are numbers of illustrations, chiefly photographs of ministers, and there is an adequate index. In general, this volume should prove useful not only to those directly concerned with the Augustana Lutheran Church but also to anyone interested in American religious history.

Carleton College. CARLTON C. QUALEY.

Illini Years, 1868-1950. A Picture History of the University of Illinois. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1950. Pp. 134. $3.50.)

Ten presidents have served this third largest university, and its pictorial history touches in story form only the high lights of each administration. Physical growth is clearly depicted in some fifty views of buildings, the remainder of the 259 pictures portray faculty and student activities. Famous characters and events of the university include Red Grange; Illini Nellie, champion milk and fat producer; the world's first betatron; the Morrow Plots, America's oldest soil experiment field. The book is full of interest to any "Illini" and is a credit to the University Press, producer of more than three million pamphlets and books yearly. H. E. P.

Abraham Lincoln, Friend of the People. By Clara Ingram Judson. (Wilcox & Follett Co.: Chicago, 1950. Pp. 208. $3.00.)

Librarians and historians are constantly being asked for the best one-volume life of Lincoln. If that question were limited to a biography for young people—those from the fifth grade through high school—*Abraham Lincoln, Friend of the People* would certainly qualify.

Mrs. Judson has written an excellent story. It is clearly and beautifully told, and with a profound respect for facts. Her writing has simplicity and directness—she does not "write down" to her audience and for this reason her book will appeal to adults, too. No wonder Mrs. Judson is the author of so many popular books for children! *Abraham Lincoln, Friend of the People* stands in a class by itself among biographies for the younger set.

Generously illustrated with pen drawings and a frontispiece by Robert Frankenberg, the volume is further enhanced by fourteen kodachromes of the Chicago Historical Society's Lincoln dioramas. These are beautiful reproductions and the colors are exquisite.

Incidentally, the volume is being received as it deserves. Since the publication date on November 10, 1950, this handsome life of the Emancipator has already had two printings. S. A. W.

The United States, 1830-1850. The Nation and its Sections. By Frederick Jackson Turner with an Introduction by Avery Craven. (Peter Smith: New York, 1950. Pp. 591. $5.00.)

The reappearance of this volume, out of print for a number of years, will be welcomed by historians. A classic in its field, the book is valuable to all who are studying the history of our country in the 1830's and the 1840's. In the decades before the Civil War sectionalism crystallized and a change in American social and political ideals also took place. Turner has made a careful study of sectionalism, a knowledge of which is indispensable to the student of American history. S. A. W.

Disciples in Illinois, 1850-1950. (Centennial Convention, Disciples of Christ in Illinois: Jacksonville, Ill., 1950. Pp. 64.)

The Disciples of Christ have been in Illinois more than one hundred years, but this booklet deals with the century which began when the Illinois Disciples decided that they should have a formal organization for the "promotion of the gospel" on our prairies.

The Centennial Convention of the Disciples of Christ in Illinois was held in Jacksonville in September, 1950. This little book is an attractive and enlightening summary of the work of the church in Illinois for the past one hundred years.

Not one of the largest Protestant organizations, the Disciples have, nevertheless, made some outstanding contributions. *The Christian Century,* begun in 1884 as *The Christian Oracle,* moved to Chicago in 1888 and with the beginning of the twentieth century took the hopeful name of *The Christian Century.* Under the distinguished editorship of Charles Clayton

Morrison, himself a Disciple, the magazine achieved great success and has become the outstanding Protestant interdenominational journal of religion.

The twentieth century, whose first fifty years have been anything but Christian, has had many zealous and inspired workers for a better world. Though it may seem, to some, that all has been in vain, the truth is certainly otherwise. Without them we should be wholly lost. And if the coming years are better than those just past to these idealists much of the credit is due.

S. A. W.

And the War Came; The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861. By Kenneth M. Stampp. (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1950. Pp. 331. $4.50.)

More exactly than the subtitle indicates, the period covered by *And the War Came* is the five months between Lincoln's election and the fall of Fort Sumter. In the North it was a period of indecision, hairsplitting, and name calling. The same was true in the South, of course, but the author is not concerned with that section except as it contributed to the confusion in the North.

There was little unity among the Unionists over what constituted "coercion," "aggression," "treason," "the right of secession," "law enforcement," and half a dozen other points. The abolitionists were still loudly vocal, but the slavery question seems to have been pushed into the background while free men argued about the "rights" of other free men. President James Buchanan and a majority of his cabinet were concerned principally with preserving the Union until March 4, when they could step aside and let Lincoln do the worrying. This attitude satisfied no one, of course. Lincoln, on the other hand, was without power to act and was feeling his way cautiously through a maze of arguments and office seekers. When he did have the power and when he did act he brought a quick end to the confusion and the Union was united.

This, briefly, is the scene which Author Stampp presents. To assemble this melange he consulted fifty-nine manuscript collections, the files of fifty-one newspapers and four magazines, and more than two hundred books and articles. He quotes voluminously from these sources, balancing one quotation against the other until he more than makes the point that present-day confusions are minor by comparison. But by this time the reader begins to wish for a little more simplification.

Incidentally, the title, *And the War Came,* is from Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address: "Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish, and the war came."

H. F. R.

NEWS AND COMMENT

1951 MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Committees have begun work on arrangements for the May and October meetings of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The May meeting—the annual Spring Tour—will be held in Champaign-Urbana on May 25 and 26, with headquarters at the Urbana-Lincoln Hotel. The program is not yet complete but Dr. Charles E. Nowell, of the University of Illinois History Department, will head the list of speakers. This will be the first meeting of the Society in Champaign-Urbana and the tour of the two cities will include the university buildings and Allerton Park.

Dr. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., of the History Department, heads the local committee. When his group completes its arrangements members of the Society will receive programs and reservation blanks.

The annual membership meeting will be held in Bloomington on October 26 and 27. Wayne C. Townley, president of the McLean County Historical Society and a past president of the State Historical Society, is chairman of the meeting.

COURTHOUSE ON THE OLD EIGHTH CIRCUIT

The beautiful old building on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* is the Mount Pulaski courthouse where Abraham Lincoln and his associates of the Eighth Judicial Circuit attended court a hundred years ago. It was used as a courthouse from 1848 to 1853 when Mount Pulaski was the county seat of Logan County. Then it was a schoolhouse until 1878, when it became a city hall and jail. Later it was a postoffice and then the

headquarters of various city officials. In 1936 the building was turned over to the state, and the work of restoring the simple beauty it possessed a century ago was begun. The Logan County Historical Society has undertaken the task of furnishing the old courthouse as it was in Lincoln's time. The building is open daily to visitors.

DWIGHT FREEMAN CLARK, 1878-1951

Dr. Dwight F. Clark, of Evanston, a director and former president of the Illinois State Historical Society, died on January 4, 1951. He had also served as a vice-president of the State Society for a number of years and since 1937 had been president of the Evanston Historical Society.

Dr. Clark was born in Yellow Springs, Ohio, March 29, 1878, and had been a practicing physician in Evanston since 1903. He was a member of the surgery staff of Evanston Hospital, from 1915 until his death, a fellow of the American College of Surgeons, and a member of the Chicago and Illinois medical societies, and the American Medical Association. He was the author of a number of articles on surgery and also on historical subjects. The December, 1946, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains his paper, "The Wreck of the *Lady Elgin*," one of the most popular articles published by this quarterly in recent years.

The Board of Directors of the State Historical Society at its meeting in Springfield on January 14, voted that the following expression of its sense of loss be placed upon its formal records and communicated to Dr. Clark's family:

Dr. Dwight Freeman Clark, President of the Illinois State Historical Society's Board of Directors during the term 1948-1949, a veteran of its councils and a sage advisor in its affairs for years, will be fondly remembered by his associates in this organization. His devotion to the aims and purposes of the Society, and his faithful attention to the various duties placed in his charge, were notable, and have been a source of inspiration to younger members of the board. To many of us he became a close and beloved friend. We mourn his departure, and we wish to express our deepest sympathy with his family in their bereavement.

FIRST PAYMENT MADE ON BARRETT COLLECTION

The Lincoln Historical Fund Campaign announced in December the first payment of $50,000 toward buying the Oliver R. Barrett Lincoln collection for the Illinois State Historical Library. An additional $170,000 is needed, however, to meet the required $220,000.

There is no public fund for the purchase of this great collection, and it was Mr. Barrett's wish that no money be appropriated to buy it. Consequently, the preservation, intact, of this greatest of privately owned Lincoln collections is a public responsibility. Those who have not been reached by local organizations for the raising of this fund may send their contributions direct to the Lincoln Historical Fund Campaign, 160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.

Chairmen of committees who have raised and sent in substantial portions of their quotas are: Preston Boyd, Freeport; Mrs. A. W. Errett, Jr., and Henry B. Terry, Kewanee; Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer, Bloomington; David V. Felts, Decatur; Benjamin P. Thomas and George W. Bunn, Springfield; John H. Hauberg, Rock Island; Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, Jacksonville; James Foster, Macomb; William Goebel, Carmi; Dr. Delyte W. Morris, Carbondale; Judge Donovan D. McCarty, Olney; Dr. Raymond Dooley, Lincoln; Judge A. D. Riess, Red Bud; Mrs. Charles E. Jones, Robinson; and Carl J. Wentsel, Sterling.

FACSIMILE OF *THE RAILSPLITTER*

A facsimile reproduction of the complete file of *The Railsplitter,* the 1860 campaign newspaper, has been made under the direction of Ralph G. Newman for the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop. The thirteen numbers of this rare paper, which helped elect Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, were published in Cincinnati, Ohio, from August 1, 1860 to October 27, 1860. Few complete files of *The Railsplitter* are available. This edition was made from the file of Foreman M. Lebold and is limited to 150 sets, beautifully boxed.

VALUABLE LINCOLNIANA GIVEN TO HISTORICAL LIBRARY

The only known note in Abraham Lincoln's handwriting which was used in the famous Lincoln-Douglas Debates has been given to the Illinois State Historical Library. The donors of this valuable piece of Lincolniana are three daughters of the late Owsley Brown, the Misses Caroline, Catherine, and Elizabeth Owsley Brown, of Springfield. Owsley Brown was the son of Christopher C. Brown, who was a son-in-law of John Todd Stuart, Lincoln's first law partner.

The note itself is on a sheet of paper about six inches square which Lincoln carried onto the platform at Jonesboro on September 15, 1858, when he and Douglas were engaged in the third debate of the series. The first three lines read: "Brief Answer to his [Douglas'] opening—," "Put in the Democratic Resolutions—," and "Examine his Answers to my questions." After these is the following question in quotation marks: "If the

people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English Bill—some ninety-three thousand—will you vote to admit them?" That there was more to Lincoln's original notes seems probable since this question was the first one of four which he asked the "Little Giant," and which appear in published versions of the Debates. But this is the only page that has ever been found.

LIBRARY RECEIVES GRANT AND GREENE LETTERS

Eight Civil War letters by General Ulysses S. Grant and a group of Revolutionary War letters by General Nathanael Greene have been presented to the Illinois State Historical Library by Foreman M. Lebold, Chicago manuscript collector. These valuable papers were turned over to Dr. Harry E. Pratt, acting State Historian, in December, by Alfred W. Stern, of Chicago, president of the Library's board of trustees and himself a noted collector of Lincolniana and Civil War material, who received them from Mr. Lebold.

Five of the Grant letters were to Major General Philip H. Sheridan; the others were to W. J. Stevens, George Peters, and a Colonel Bowers. There are twenty-four letters in the Greene group. The earliest of these is dated April 1, 1781, and the last is July 12, 1782. The period covered is the last years of the Revolution. At that time General Greene was in charge of American troops in the South. Two letters to George Washington are reports on military activities in Greene's section. The later one is dated May 19, 1782, which was seven months after Lord Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown. However, the British forces had not yet left South Carolina, and Greene told Washington that he did not think they had any intention of leaving. And they did stay for another seven months.

A dozen of the letters are to "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, the father of General Robert E. Lee. "Light-Horse Harry" was in charge of General Greene's cavalry. Nine of these letters concern military movements, principally those of Cornwallis. In several Greene wrote code numbers for certain words, and these have been decoded by Lee on the original letter. Later, Greene said, the code book was lost and he had to write in English instead of numbers. The other letters to Lee concern the latter's resignation from the Army to get married.

MEMENTOS OF THE IROQUOIS THEATER FIRE

Comparatively few survivors of the historic Iroquois Theater Fire are still living. Among them are Mr. and Mrs. Harry Hough, of Mazon, Illinois.

The Houghs were an engaged couple at the time, and the future Mrs. Hough was visiting relatives in Chicago. On the fatal December 30, 1903, Mr. Hough joined his bride-to-be and her aunt in a theater party to see *Mr. Blue Beard* at the Iroquois.

When the fire broke out, Mr. Hough made his fiancée and her aunt lie on the floor, as he did. They escaped uninjured. The Houghs preserve in their Mazon home the playbill for *Mr. Blue Beard* and the stubs of their tickets. Their home also contains many historic treasures and Indian relics. Mr. Hough is a member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

More than 9,000,000 persons visited Illinois state parks and memorials during 1950. This was an increase of 700,000 over the 1949 total. Part of this increase could be ascribed to an expansion of camping facilities for youths.

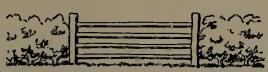
Mrs. Frank J. Sherman, of Peoria, has presented to the Illinois State Historical Library a typewritten manuscript copy of "The Indian Point Pioneers," compiled by F. H. Whitney. Mrs. Sherman has arranged the material in chart form and compiled an index.

At the January meeting of the Alton Area Historical Society, Mrs. H. E. Winans gave a talk on Valley Forge. Officers of the Society for 1951 are: George C. Richter, president; Guy D. Helmich, vice-president; Mrs. Anna C. Kranz, secretary; John F. Lemp, treasurer; and Margaret Hall, librarian.

Officers of the Augustana Historical Society, all re-elected at the meeting on December 4, 1950, are: Dr. G. Everett Arden, president; Dr. Richard Anderson, vice-president and secretary; and Birger Swenson, treasurer. Dr. Conrad J. Bergendoff, the main speaker, used for his theme the meaning of the past for the present.

At this meeting the first volume of Dr. Oscar N. Olson's book, *The Augustana Lutheran Church in America, Pioneer Period, 1846-1860,* (see page 76) was distributed to members of the Society.

The Bureau County Historical Society emphasized in its recent membership drive that for $1.00 additional, membership in the State Historical Society would be included. At a directors' meeting on October 31, 1950, three additional directors were named, increasing the number from fifteen to eighteen. New directors are: Duncan Bryant, Harvey D. Trimble, and Mrs. Paul Fredenhagen. Mrs. H. P. Grove is president of the Society.



During the early winter months an exhibition of so-called "primitive paintings" was held by the Chicago Historical Society. Separated into two groups, portraits and historical paintings, they presented a sample of Midwestern taste in the nineteenth century.

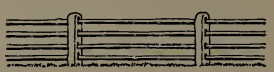
"The Night Before Christmas—1850" was the special display for the holiday season. Life-size figures dressed in authentic costumes portrayed a family group before a fireplace where stockings were hung. There was a popcorn and cranberry decorated tree banked with gaily wrapped packages. The furnishings were handsome examples of the Victorian era. Christmas carols from an old-fashioned music box added the proper seasonal touch.

The Englewood (Chicago) Historical Association held its annual meeting in the Hiram Kelly Branch of the Chicago Public Library on December 5. The program was a homecoming reunion for early graduates of the Englewood and Parker high schools. More than 350 attended and there was much interest and enthusiasm for this opportunity to get together and recall old times.

Officers of the Society are: James W. Fry, president; Willis E. Tower, immediate past president; Florence Deneen, first vice-president; Harry S. Himmel, second vice-president; J. M. McFarland, third vice-president; Mary E. Farrell, secretary-treasurer. Directors include: Mrs. J. M. Van Valkenburgh, Kenneth Goodspeed, Homer G. Sailor, William H. McDonnell, and William T. Murphy.

The December meeting of the Lawndale-Crawford (Chicago) Historical Society was attended by Mr. and Mrs. E. Crawford Ferensen. Mr. Ferensen is the great-grandson of Peter Crawford, first permanent settler in the area. This was the seventeenth annual meeting of the Society, of which Larned E. Meachem is president.

At its annual meeting the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society honored Marshall High School, its teachers, alumni, and students. Among the speakers were Robert Jamieson, John F. Tyrell, Mrs. Frances Barrow, Mrs. Frances Farrell, R. A. Barnett, and David S. Cole. Edward Chapman, Marshall student, was soloist.



The Evanston Historical Society heard Fred Smith present his reminiscences of early Evanston in October, and in November Andre S. Nielsen talked on "Libraries and Historical Societies." Mr. Nielsen, who is librarian of the Evanston Public Library, is president of the Illinois Library Association.

The topics discussed at the December meeting of the Geneva Historical Society were a description of State Street in the 1890's and a history of the Colonial Hospital, long known as "The Clinic," in Geneva. The Society plans to mark the site of the first permanent white settlement in Geneva.

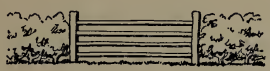
The Jefferson County Historical Society held its annual meeting in Mt. Vernon on December 12. President Charles Inskeep presided. Whitney P. Sapp read a paper on the early history of telephone companies in the county.

A small, scale replica of the old Hotel Riverview was on display at the annual meeting of the Kankakee County Historical Society in November.

This remarkable model of the famous old hotel and its grounds with a steamboat at the dock was made by Harold Simmons, Joseph Campbell, and Mrs. Effie Davis. The hotel, a popular resort, was built in 1887 and burned in 1897. The site of this famous hostelry now includes many of Kankakee's fine homes.

A special mass was celebrated at the Church of the Immaculate Conception in Kaskaskia on December 8, to commemorate the 275th anniversary of the founding of the parish. It was established in 1675 as a mission to the Indians at the Great Illinois Village near modern Utica and was moved to Kaskaskia in 1703.

The Kenilworth Historical Society held a dinner for members and prospective members in the Kenilworth Club on November 8. Membership in the Society consists of residents who have lived in Kenilworth for twenty years or more.

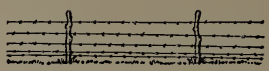


The second meeting of the Logan County Historical Society was held in the old courthouse at Mount Pulaski on January 17. Dr. Harry E. Pratt, acting State Historian, spoke on the topic, "Abraham Lincoln Rides the Circuit in Logan County." Plans were announced for a program to secure furniture of the Lincoln period for the Mount Pulaski courthouse. (See front cover.) D. F. Nickols is president of the group.

Officers of the Madison County Historical Society are: Donald F. Lewis, president; Ella Tunnell, first vice-president; the Rev. A. F. Ludwig (died Nov. 4, 1950), second vice-president; Jessie Springer, secretary; E. W. Ellis, treasurer; and Caroline Wolf, curator, Madison County Historical Museum. Additional directors are: William L. Waters, C. H. Dorris, Harvey E. Dorsey, Jesse R. Brown, William R. Stoneham, Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, and Mary Harnsberger.

The fall meeting of the Society was combined with the dedicatory program, on October 15, 1950, marking the camp site of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. On this occasion, Irving Dilliard was the principal speaker. Mr. Dilliard also spoke to the Edwardsville Chapter of the Madison County Historical Society on October 23. His topic, "A Morning's Journey," pictured historical spots that may be visited in Madison County.

At the January meeting of the Edwardsville chapter, resolutions were adopted pertaining to the death of the Rev. A. F. Ludwig, president of the group and a charter member. Mrs. W. H. Morgan, vice-president, is filling out the Rev. Ludwig's term.



Officers of the Mattoon Historical Society are: R. Harvey Wright, president; Emily D. Oblinger, vice-president; Earl Robertson, treasurer; and Mrs. J. H. Glover, secretary. New directors include: James T. Cunningham, Blanche Gray, and Walter Kemper.

Officers of the Maywood Historical Society are: W. L. Castleman, president; Minerva Kaapke, vice-president; Vernell C. Dammeier, vice-president in charge of historical records; E. P. Benjamin, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Edna Westcott, chairman of fact-finding committee; Mrs. Marguerite Nichols Edlund, social chairman.

At the February meeting J. C. Miller was unanimously elected the Society's first honorary member. He is chairman of the board of trustees of the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society and vice-president of the Oak Park Historical Society.

Carl E. Robinson reviewed Carl Sandburg's *Lincoln Collector; The Story of Oliver R. Barrett's Great Private Collection* at the November meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society. Mrs. Dorothy Cannon Lemon, a niece of Oliver R. Barrett, was present at the meeting.

Elmer E. Abrahamson, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke to the Morgan County group at a dinner meeting on January 19, in Jacksonville. His topic was "Early American History and Illinois."

J. C. Miller was the speaker at the November 30 meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. He talked on the planning of Riverside and of Chicago's tree nursery on Harlem Avenue at Cermak Road. The noted landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, planned this suburb west of Chicago.

The Ogle County Board of Supervisors celebrated the centennial of the board's organization on November 11. Nearly 400 local residents gathered for the turkey dinner and program which followed. The principal speakers were Circuit Judge Leon A. Zick and Judge Grover Gehant. The dinner and program were held in the Oregon Coliseum.

Irene Bunch read the third act of a play she had written, based on the life of La Salle, before the Peoria Historical Society at its October meeting. This act describes La Salle's first appearance in the Peoria area. Mrs. Mary Allan read her poem in memory of Father Marquette. Also at this meeting the Association of Commerce presented to the Society one hundred copies of a resumé of the history of Peoria written by Ernest E. East.

In November Estella Wheeler discussed glacier movements and the topography of Illinois and Peoria.

The reactivated Piatt County Historical Society will be incorporated into the Monticello Community Club. William J. Henebry is president of the Community Club. Herbert Mohler, vice-president of the National Bank of Monticello, has been designated agent for the Historical Society.

Mr. Henebry has appointed Lena Bragg, G. W. Adams, and William T. Lodge a committee to be in charge of the Historical Society.

The annual fall meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held on October 24, at the Watch Tower Inn in Black Hawk State Park. A paper prepared by Roy F. McNabney on the history of ferryboat operations in the Quad Cities was read by Joseph R. Rosborough. John H. Hauberg showed a motion picture he entitled, "God's Acres." His films were taken

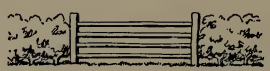
in Rock Island County at different seasons of the year. Oscar L. Nordstrom, president of the Society, presided.

The Saline County Historical Society heard Mrs. Paul Hayes talk on "Historical Gardens" in October. In November John E. Jones spoke on the history of coal—its formation, methods of mining, and importance to industry.

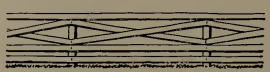
Irvin Peithman spoke at the December meeting. Mr. Peithman, who is curator of archaeology at Southern Illinois University's museum, told of excavating an Indian mound at Dogtown, twelve miles southeast of Carmi, in White County. He showed colored slides illustrating his talk.

On January 2, Scerial Thompson spoke on "The Cherokee Trek Through Egypt." Mr. Thompson has done much research on the Cherokee tribe and has a fine library about that Indian nation.

Officers of the Saline County Historical Society are: William H. Farley, president; John Foster, first vice-president; Mary Norman Lindsay, second vice-president; and James Bond, secretary-treasurer.



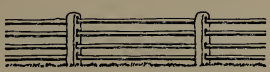
All officers of the Stark County Historical Society were re-elected at the annual meeting of the group in October. They are: W. C. Auble, president; H. W. Walker, vice-president; Annie Lowman, secretary; Rena Baker, treasurer. Directors are: Carl L. Lehman, H. W. Walker, W. C. Auble, Ednah McClenahan, Mrs. Mary H. Grieve, Annie Lowman, Earl O. Turner, and Robert O. Webster.



The museum of the Stephenson County Historical Society had its annual Christmas exhibit in December. Two Christmas trees—one an all white, modern, sparkling decoration, and an old-fashioned one trimmed with strings of popcorn, red candles, and ornaments—were part of the display. Also included were table decorations, Christmas cookies, candles, china and glassware, dolls, and a large painting of the Madonna and Christ child, the work of Mrs. John Alden Riner.

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford has an ambitious program. Radio broadcasts are given over station WROK every Sunday evening from six-thirty until seven o'clock. Listings of a month's programs in advance are printed and distributed. The Society also plans to take a leading part in celebrating the Rockford Centennial in 1952. Officers of the group are: Herman G. Nelson, president; Marvin O. Alden, vice-president; Carl P. Sandstrom, vice-president; Arvid W. Peterson, secretary; George Blomberg, treasurer; and Thorsten Thorstenson, radio chairman.

Meeting for the first time last October, the newly formed White County Historical Society elected two temporary officers: J. Robert Smith, president, and Mrs. Ella Barnes, secretary-treasurer. Judge J. C. Kern was chairman of this first meeting, which was held in the Carmi Public Library.



In a preliminary report of its work the Wilmette Historical Commission listed its four main objectives:

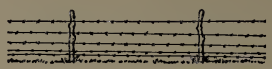
1. The writing and publication of an illustrated history of Wilmette.
2. The development of a historical museum.
3. Preparation of an outline history of the village in pamphlet form.
4. Broadening and deepening of public interest throughout the village in Wilmette history.

Frank W. Windes, of Winnetka, a resident of the village since 1879, and custodian of the Winnetka Historical Society since its inception, has a hobby of creating models of historic landmarks in Winnetka's early history. In many of the replicas wood from the original buildings has been used.

The Winnetka Historical Society's annual autumn trip included New Salem State Park and the Dickson Mounds on October 14 and 15. On October 22 the Society placed a bronze plaque to mark the site of Charles E. Peck's residence. Peck was the founder of Winnetka and picked the name, an Indian word meaning "beautiful land." This is the fifth such commemorative marker placed by the Society. The others are at the site of the early Indian encampment (on Ridge Avenue at the south end of the

village), the Village Common, the Indian Trail Tree, and the log cabin, now the Burnham home, on Tower Road.

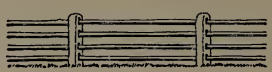
On November 1, a sound-color film, "Song of the Pioneer," was shown. This depicted the development of the Northwest, and the history and growth of the Chicago and North Western Railway system. Nye F. Morehouse, vice-president and general counsel for the railroad, spoke briefly.



JOURNAL INDEXES AVAILABLE

Copies of the *General Index to the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vols. I to XXV* are now available for distribution. They will be sent to libraries free upon application, and to individuals for $2.50. This *Index* was compiled by James N. Adams, of the Illinois State Historical Library staff, and was a Fiftieth Anniversary publication of the Historical Society. It is 714 pages in length, contains more than 30,000 listings, and has a hard-cover binding of navy blue buckram, with gold lettering on the backbone. The period covered is April, 1908, to January, 1933.

Also available, while the supply lasts, are annual indexes for the years since 1933. These are pamphlets of about 24 pages each and are the same size as the *Journals*. They will be mailed free to any member of the Society who can use them. (Address Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois.)



The Vigo County (Indiana) Historical Society will be host to the Indiana Regional Historical Society in Terre Haute on May 25. There will be a tour of historic places in that area and an address on prehistoric times along the Wabash.

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Journal of the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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LINCOLN REBUKES A SENATOR

BY HARLAN HOYT HORNER

FEW men were closer to Lincoln throughout his mature life than Orville Hickman Browning.[1] Lincoln and Browning had many experiences in common. Born in Kentucky, Browning had better educational advantages in early life than Lincoln. Dependent upon his own meager resources, however, he began the practice of law in Quincy, Illinois, in 1831, about the time Lincoln reached New Salem to stop "indefinitely and for the first time, as it were, by himself." Browning served in the Black Hawk War, in the Illinois General Assembly, practiced law on the circuit, and was early ambitious to go to Congress. He was defeated by Stephen A. Douglas in 1843 and by other candidates in 1850 and 1852.

[1] All factual references to Browning's life and public service are drawn from the following sources:

Theodore Calvin Pease and J. G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. I, 1850-1864 (Illinois Historical Collections,* XX, Springfield, 1925). Vol. I cited hereafter as *Diary.*

Allen Johnson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1929), III: 175-76.

Proceedings of the Illinois State Bar Association for the Year 1882 (Springfield, 1882).

John C. Rives, publisher, *The Congressional Globe,* 37th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions and 3rd Session, Part 1 (Washington, D. C., 1861-1862-1863).

Harlan Hoyt Horner is a nationally-known educator, lecturer, author, and editor. His writings include a large number of pamphlets and magazine articles and several books—among the latter are The American Flag, *1909, and* The Growth of Lincoln's Faith, *1939. He is the editor of* What Makes Lincoln Great, *1940, a collection of addresses by Andrew Sloan Draper, former president of the University of Illinois. Although he grew up in Illinois Mr. Horner has made his home in Albany, New York, for most of the past forty years.*

Interested in public affairs throughout his life and holding office on occasion, Browning was essentially a lawyer rather than a politician, and he never allowed public office or the desire for it to break up the continuity of his law practice. He kept a diary from 1850 until a short time before his death in 1881 which has been carefully preserved and edited. Both in his diary and in his letters he reveals the close exchange of confidences which existed between him and Lincoln. At the same time—in his diary especially—what he does not say upon important occasions reveals a cold, calculating attitude toward Lincoln. One cannot escape the conviction, after close scrutiny of the two thick volumes, that Browning was secretly jealous of Lincoln's advancement and that he complacently regarded himself as Lincoln's intellectual superior. It almost appears that he soothed his hurt by saying nothing in the diary when the time and circumstance would lead one to look for a definite expression.

The Illinois State Republican convention, meeting at Springfield on June 16, 1858, declared unanimously "that Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas." [2] At an evening meeting at the conclusion of the convention, Lincoln made his famous "House Divided" speech. Browning attended the convention and recorded in his diary that Wednesday, June 16, 1858 was a "Lovely day." Then he added: "Republican convention in session. Koerner President — Immense gathering — over a thousand delegates in attendance, and great harmony and enthusiasm. Nominated Miller for Treasurer & Bateman for superintendent of public instruction. I drafted the platform which was adopted without dissent." [3]

Thousands of eager partisans heard, or tried to hear, the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The *Chicago Press and Tribune*

[2] *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], June 16, 1858.
[3] *Diary* 327.

and the *Chicago Times* employed shorthand reporters—the first time this had been done. The *New York Post,* the *Philadelphia Press,* and other papers sent special reporters to the debates and gave full accounts of the arguments.[4]

There is no evidence in Browning's diary that he gave special notice to the debates. During two of the debates he was "at work in office" in Quincy, during two others he was making political speeches at Oquawka and Macomb, and during the other three he was "attending court" at Carthage. The sole reference in the diary to the debates, while they were in progress, occurs on October 13, when the scene was his home town: "Bright day, mild & windy—Lincoln & Douglass speak at Quincy to day." [5] On the morning of the debate at Quincy, Lincoln was conducted by the reception committee "to the residence of Hon. O. H. Browning, where a beautiful and elegant boquet was presented by the Republican ladies of Quincy." [6] Browning was attending court fifty miles away at Carthage.

The day after the election in which a Democratic majority was chosen for the Illinois legislature, thus assuring the re-election of Douglas, the most distinguished citizen in Quincy recorded in his diary that it was "Raining all day" and that he was "Attending Court." [7]

The Illinois State Republican convention assembled at Decatur on May 9, 1860. Browning was a delegate. He was made chairman of the committee on resolutions, was named a presidential elector and chosen a delegate-at-large to the national convention. Candidates for state offices were nominated; but the most important action was the unanimous adoption on the second day of the following resolution:

Resolved, That Abraham Lincoln is the choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the Presidency, and the delegates from this State are instructed

[4] Edwin Erle Sparks, *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858 (Illinois Historical Collections,* III, Springfield, 1908).
[5] *Diary* 333, 334, 336, 338, 339.
[6] *Quincy Whig,* Oct. 15, 1858.
[7] Nov. 3, 1858, *Diary,* 341.

to use all honorable means to secure his nomination by the Chicago Convention, and to vote as a unit for him.[8]

Browning recorded the minor events in his diary but made no reference to the endorsement of Lincoln nor to his own selection as a presidential elector or as a delegate-at-large to the national convention. He did leave the record that the resolutions were "all adopted without opposition" and that he "was then loudly and persistently called upon for a speech." [9]

As an instructed delegate to the Wigwam convention, Browning played his part faithfully in Lincoln's behalf,[10] but displayed no enthusiasm in his diary at Lincoln's nomination. Instead he recorded:

> My first choice for the Presidency was Mr Bates of Missouri, but under instructions our whole delegation voted for Mr Lincoln Many reasons influenced me to support Mr Bates, the chief of which, next to his eminent fitness, were to strengthen our organization in the South, and remove apprehension in the South of any hostile purpose on the part of Republicans to the institutions of the South—to restore fraternal regard among the different sections of the Union—to bring to our support the old whigs in the free states, who have not yet fraternized with us, and to give some check to the ultra tendencies of the Republican party.[11]

A few days after the adjournment of the convention David Davis and others besought Browning to prevail upon Judge Bates to aid the campaign in Illinois. He made a special visit to Bates at St. Louis for that purpose, but found the judge deemed taking the stump "in very bad taste, and incompatible with the dignity of his character & position." Browning's lukewarmness toward Lincoln's candidacy was again revealed in his diary:

> Some of these same men [those who had asked him to intercede with Bates] had blamed me for supporting Judge Bates for the Presidency and

[8] Osborn H. Oldroyd, *Lincoln's Campaign, or the Political Revolution of 1860* (Chicago, 1896), 9.

[9] *Diary* 405-6.

[10] Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), II: 89. Cited hereafter as *Koerner.*

[11] *Diary* 407.

had asserted, in the most emphatic terms, that he could not carry Illinois. I believed before the convention, and believe now, that he would have carried the entire Republican party, and the old whig party beside, and I think others are beginning to suspect the same thing, and that we have made a mistake in the selection of candidates.[12]

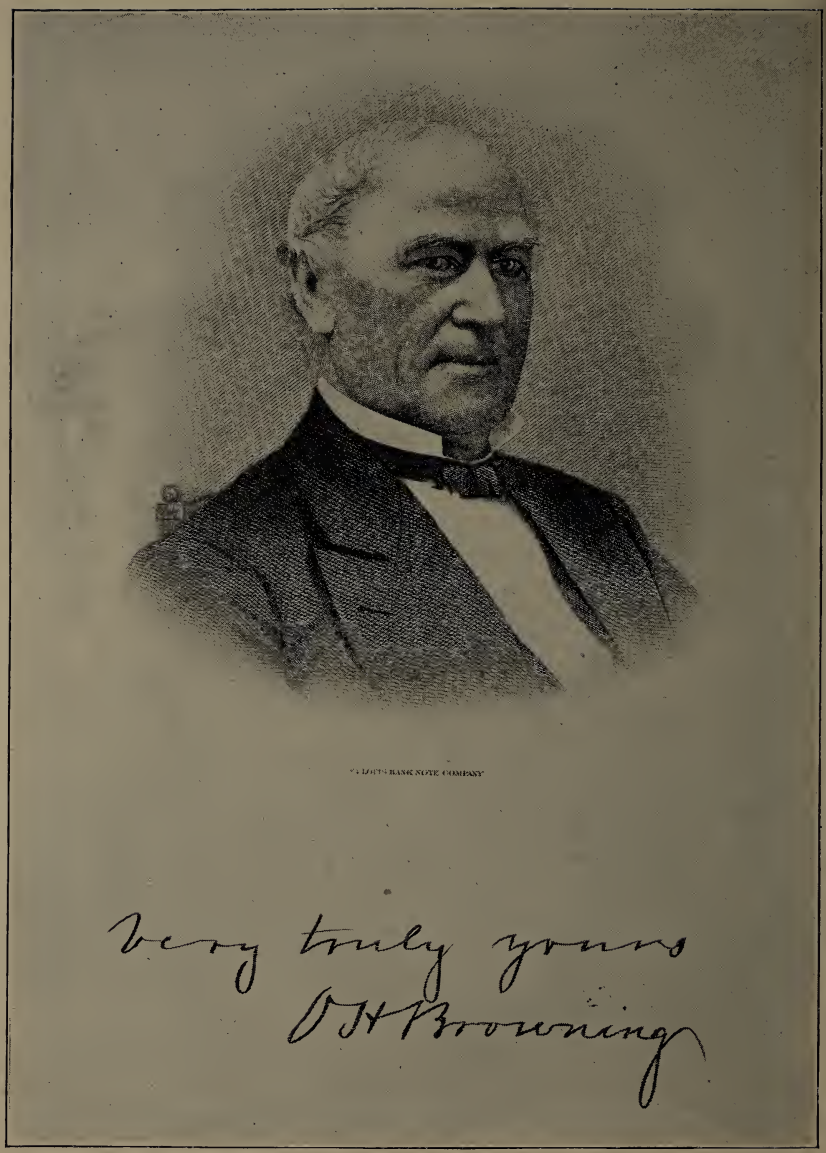
When it came time, in February, 1861, for Lincoln to go to Washington, Browning was invited to join the party. He went from Springfield to Indianapolis on the special train. At Indianapolis Lincoln gave Browning a copy of his inaugural address and asked his opinion of it. "I thought it able, well considered, and appropriate," Browning recorded in his diary, "and so informed him It is, in my judgment, a very admirable document. He permitted me to retain a copy, under promise not to show it except to Mrs Browning." [13] On February 17, apparently having studied the inaugural address carefully, as was his wont in all such matters, Browning wrote Lincoln from Springfield, where he was attending court, suggesting a modification at the point where Lincoln in his original draft had declared it his purpose "to reclaim the public property and places which have fallen." Browning proposed that this statement be eliminated and that Lincoln merely declare it his purpose "to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Government." Browning held that the declaration of the purpose of reclamation would be construed as a threat or menace. "On principle," he said, "the passage is right as it now stands. The fallen places ought to be reclaimed. But cannot that be accomplished as well or even better without announcing the purpose in your inaugural?" Lincoln accepted the proposed modification.[14]

Browning never hesitated to record the praise he received for the framing of convention resolutions, in which he was

[12] *Diary* 409-10. See also pp. 416-17 for letter of June 11, 1860, which Bates wrote to Browning endorsing Lincoln's candidacy.

[13] *Diary* 455-56.

[14] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, a History* (New York, 1890), III: 322, 333-34. See also Browning's letter in Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, Library of Congress, Feb. 17, 1861 (No. 7375). Cited hereafter as R. T. L.



Very truly yours
O H Browning

adept, or for speeches on the stump, in which he was frequently impressive; but the diary is largely silent on his own personal ambitions. The Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln in the Library of Congress reveals that he was passionately eager to be appointed to the Supreme Court. Shortly after his inauguration Lincoln was faced with three vacancies in the Court. Judge Peter V. Daniel died on May 30, 1860, and his place had not been filled. Judge John McLean died on April 4, 1861, and Judge John A. Campbell resigned on April 29. Because of necessary readjustments unavoidably brought about by the war Lincoln delayed his appointments. Judge Noah H. Swayne from Ohio, Judge Samuel F. Miller from Iowa, and Judge David Davis from Illinois were appointed, respectively, on January 22, July 16, and December 1, 1862.[15]

Leonard Swett, one of Lincoln's principal lieutenants, thought that Lincoln was predisposed toward Browning. Swett, to whom Lincoln felt greatly obligated, was vigorously for Davis.[16] There was tremendous pressure back of both Swayne and Miller and considerable opposition to Browning.

Five days after Judge McLean's death, Browning wrote Lincoln asking—almost begging—for appointment as Judge McLean's successor. He said:

> It is not without a great deal of embarrassment and hesitation that I have determined upon this course, but, having determined upon it, I do not propose to offer any apologies for addressing myself to the task. You know me about as well as I know myself; and in regards to my fitness for the office you know me better—for you occupy a far better stand point for the formation of a fair and impartial judgment than I do. If, then, you shall think me competent to the duties of the office, and shall be at all inclined to gratify me in any thing, I say frankly, and without any sort of disguise, or affectation, that there is nothing in your power to do for me which would gratify me so much as this. It is an office peculiarly adapted to my tastes, and the faithful and honest performance of the duties of which would be my highest pride and ambition.

[15] Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History* (New York, 1926), II: 359, 374, 375, 379-80

[16] Henry C. Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* (Boston, 1892), 477-78.

At the conclusion of his letter Browning asked Lincoln not to let it be known that he had "personally solicited the office" and expressed the hope that he might have "a line in reply."[17] There is no record of a reply from Lincoln.

On June 8, 1861, Lincoln as yet having made no appointments to the Supreme Court, Mrs. Browning took up the cudgels for her "Noble husband" in a pathetically appealing letter to Lincoln in which she spoke of Browning as "one of the *Wisest best* men in the Nation." As a "devoted wife" and as "an old and sincere friend" she plead with Lincoln for her husband's recognition, knowing that he had "never been appreciated, owing in part, to his great modestry, and unselfishness in not pushing himself forward." Browning had written, she said, at her own "earnest solicitations" and she was writing without his knowledge while he was attending court in Springfield. Her letter throughout expressed the impassioned, yet honest and genuine, feeling of a devoted wife and served to acquaint Lincoln anew with the intensity of Browning's desire for the high office.[18]

As he promised in his letter to Lincoln on April 9, Browning did not ask again, but he did contrive to keep the President reminded of his existence. On April 18, after the fall of Sumter, he wrote Lincoln a long letter on affairs in general,

> Thinking it probable you might be glad to know something of public sentiment here I take the liberty of writing you.... We had an immense meeting last night, called without distinction of party, and composed of almost the entire mass of both parties.
>
> I drew up, and presented resolutions pledging our undivided and ardent support to the administration in all measures it should adopt for the suppression of rebellion, preservation of the Union, chastisement of treason, etc. They

[17] R. T. L., Apr. 9, 1861 (No. 8913). See also David C. Mearns, *The Lincoln Papers* (New York, 1948), II: 531-33. Cited hereafter as *Mearns*.

[18] R. T. L., June 8, 1861 (No. 10215). See also *Mearns* II: 630-32. Mrs. Browning ended her letter, "Your old and Sincere friend"; and very properly so. Lincoln's friendly acquaintance with the Brownings began back in the days when he and Browning were in the Illinois General Assembly together. Lincoln's notorious letter of Apr. 1, 1838, to Mrs. Browning, concerning his episode with Mary Owens shows how close was their early acquaintance. See John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1905), I: 87-92. Cited hereafter as *Works*.

were adopted unanimously and enthusiastically .... You have entered nobly upon the work of protecting the government, and upholding the constitution and laws.... God bless and prosper you.[19]

And again, in another long letter, on April 30:

Today I am better assured of the self protecting, and self perpetuating energy of the government than ever before. My hopes of a prosperous and glorious future are higher and brighter. Had you faltered, had you even hesitated upon the fall of Sumter, treason would have been predominant even in Illinois. The vigor and promptitude of your measures has confounded it. You have struck it speechless.... May God give you wisdom and strength for every emergency of this great struggle, and lead you through a brilliant career to a triumphant consummation of the great work he has laid upon you, is the fervent, daily prayer of your faithful friend.[20]

In June, 1861, upon the death of Senator Douglas, Governor Yates of Illinois appointed Browning to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy until a successor should be chosen by the Legislature. He took his seat on July 4, 1861, and served to January 30, 1863. He was not a candidate for election to succeed himself. He promptly became known as a spokesman for the President, and upon one occasion in the Senate characterized Lincoln as "a President who was never surpassed by any man who ruled a people on earth, in all that constitutes patriotism, honor, integrity and devotion to the great cause of human rights."[21] He was in frequent touch with the President, dined at the White House, and Mrs. Lincoln once took him home in her carriage.[22]

Congress adjourned on August 6, 1861, and Browning reached his home in Quincy on August 15. He was careful to keep his fences up. Lincoln had made no announcement concerning the vacancies in the Supreme Court. Four days after reaching home Browning was "busy in office writing letters." One letter went to the President. Recalling that Lincoln appeared despondent upon the occasion of their last interview

[19] R. T. L., Apr. 18, 1861 (No. 9190).
[20] R. T. L., Apr. 30, 1861 (No. 9496).
[21] *Congressional Globe,* 37th Congress, 1st Sess., 29-31, 187-89, 263-65.
[22] *Diary* 475-94.

in Washington Browning adjured him to "be of good cheer." The letter was a bit inept in its open bid for personal notice:

> God knows how earnestly, not only for the country, but for your own sake, I desire the success of your administration. I want these troubles ended, and the country made peaceful, happy and prosperous under your guidance, and it can and will be done if you follow the plain teachings of Providence. If you falter God may forsake you.... *You know I have no selfish end of my own to accomplish, and that what I say to you I say in all sincerity of heart, and faithfulness of friendship.*[23]

On July 25, 1861, Major General John C. Frémont assumed command of the Western Department at his headquarters in St. Louis. This department consisted of the state of Illinois and all the states and territories between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. On August 22 and 23, Browning conferred with General Frémont in St. Louis about "making a Military Post" and "having Munitions of war manufactured" at Quincy and "had a very pleasant and satisfactory interview with him." On August 30, without consulting with his superiors, General Frémont issued his famous proclamation establishing martial law throughout the state of Missouri and declaring:

> All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty will be shot.
>
> The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared freemen.[24]

Lincoln first learned of the proclamation through the newspapers. The edict was popular in many quarters. On September 2, Lincoln sent a letter by special messenger to Frémont ordering that no man be shot under the proclamation without first having his approbation or consent, and requesting that Frémont, on his own motion, modify the closing paragraph

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[23] R. T. L., Aug. 19, 1861 (No. 11278). Italics by the author of this article.

[24] *War of the Rebellion* (Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1881), Series I, Vol. III: 467. Cited hereafter as *W.R.*

of his proclamation in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberating of slaves of traitorous owners to conform to the first and fourth sections of the confiscation act of August 6, 1861.[25]

On September 5 and 6, Browning again visited Frémont at his headquarters and "had an interview with Frémont in which he assured me that he would adhere firmly to his proclamation and carry out the policy he had commenced." He also "had an interview with Mrs Frémont & Miss Dix about contract with Good Samaritans of Quincy, for knitting socks &c for the army." On both days he went with clients "to Quarter Masters department to try and get contract for furnishing oats, corn, hay, &c for Western army."[26] It does not appear in Browning's diary that General Frémont acquainted him with his correspondence with the President. In a letter of September 8, to Lincoln, Frémont took a belligerent attitude and said: "If upon reflection your better judgment still decides that I am wrong in the article respecting the liberation of slaves, I have to ask that you will openly direct me to make the correction."[27]

Lincoln replied to Frémont on September 11, and ordered that the clause in his proclamation in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves, "be so modified, held, and construed as to conform to, and not to transcend, the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress entitled, 'An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,' approved August 6, 1861, and that said act be published at length with this order."[28]

"Busy in office," again on September 11, Browning wrote Lincoln before he learned that Frémont's proclamation had been modified. Frémont, he believed, was competent, and his "proclamation was necessary" and would "do good."[29]

[25] *Works,* VI: 350-51.
[26] *Diary* 499.
[27] *W. R.,* Series I, Vol. III: 477.
[28] *Works,* VI: 353.
[29] *Diary* 500. R. T. L., Sept. 11, 1861 (No. 11594).

Learning of Lincoln's order to Frémont, Browning allowed his conceit to run away with his diplomacy. On September 17, he took the President to task in the letter which provoked Lincoln's famous reply:

QUINCY, ILLS., SEPT. 17, 1861

MR. PRESIDENT:

It is in no spirit of fault-finding that I say I greatly regret the order modifying Gen'l. Fremont's proclamation.

That proclamation had the unqualified approval of every true friend of the Government within my knowledge. I do not know of an exception. Rebels and traitors, and all who sympathize with rebellion and treason, and who wish to see the Government overthrown, would, of course, denounce it. Its influence was most salutary, and it was accomplishing much good. Its revocation disheartens our friends, and represses their ardor.

It is true there is no express, written law authorizing it, but war is never carried on, and can never be, in strict accordance with previously adjusted Constitutional and legal provisions. Have traitors who are warring upon the Constitution and laws, and rejecting all their restraints, any right to invoke their protection?

Are they to be at liberty to use every weapon to accomplish the overthrow of the government, and are our hands to be so tied as to prevent the infliction of any injury upon them, or the successful resistance of their assaults?

The proclamation also provided that "All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within the lines shall be tried by Court Martial, and, if found guilty, shall be shot."

I think there is no express statute law authorizing this, and yet, I believe, no body doubts its legality or propriety.

It does not conform to the act of Congress passed the 6th of August last, nor was it intended to; and yet it is neither revoked or modified by the order of Sept. 11th.

Is a traitor's negro more sacred than his life? and is it true that the power which may dispose absolutely of the latter, is impotent to touch the former?

I am very sorry the order was made. It has produced a great deal of excitement, and is really filling the hearts of our friends with despondency.

It is rumored that Fremont is to be superceded. I hope this is not so. Coming upon the heels of the disapproval of his proclamation it would be a most unfortunate step, and would actually demoralize our cause throughout the North West. He has a very firm hold upon the confidence of the people.

You may rely upon what I say to you. You know that I am not in the habit of becoming needlessly excited, and that I have no ends to subserve except such as will advance the good of the Country, and promote your own welfare—your fortune and your fame.

I do think measures are sometimes shaped too much with a view to satisfy men of doubtful loyalty, instead of the true friends of the Country.

There has been too much tenderness towards traitors and rebels.

We must strike them terrible blows, and strike them hard and quick, or the government will go hopelessly to pieces.

As every truly and faithfully,

Your friend

O. H. BROWNING.[30]

Two days after Lincoln's reply to Browning's outburst had been written but before he received it, Browning bombarded the President again on September 24, feeling it his "duty" even "at the hazard" of Lincoln's "displeasure." He did not mention the Frémont debacle in this letter but confessed that he was "somewhat despondent," pronounced Pope "of no account as a General," complained that "things" in Illinois were in "rather a deplorable condition," and warned that "unless a change" should soon take place the government would be "irretrievably overthrown." Toward the end of this dismal picture, Browning again trapped himself by declaring:

Now, Mr. President, you *know* that I would forfeit my life before I would trafic in the misfortunes of my Country for my own individual profit and advantage, or for the profit and advantage of any friend I have on earth. You know that I belong to no clique, and have the interest and advancement of no man in charge. *You know that I am neither asking nor seeking office or contract for myself or for any one else, and that what I say to you is said from the sincerest desire for your fame and success as President, and for the true good and glory of the Country.*[31]

Lincoln's capacity for restraint under pressure was perhaps never better illustrated than in his dealing with the Frémont proclamation. In his recent *Lincoln the President,* Professor J. G. Randall says that Frémont's

Missouri assignment became for Lincoln an embarrassment, a hornet's nest, and a grave hazard. It could almost be said that the sum of Lincoln's intramural vexations was focused in the Frémont muddle. Before he was removed from his post this political general had alienated border sentiment,

[30] R. T. L., Sept. 17, 1861 (No. 11724).

[31] R. T. L., Sept. 24, 1861 (No. 12010). Italics by the author of this article.

seized functions that belonged to civilian chiefs at Washington, laid his administration open to charges of fraud and extravagance, challenged the President's leadership, divided those elements which Lincoln was seeking to weld together, and had precipitated one of those military-and-civil clashes which are always troublesome in a democracy.[32]

Here was Lincoln's life-long associate in law and politics, his cherished adviser and his intimate friend—hardly anyone closer to him—avowing that Frémont's proclamation had the "unqualified approval of every true friend of the Government." This was a sweeping declaration for a lawyer trained in gathering evidence. Here was this valued friend intimating that under his leadership the government was in danger of going "hopelessly to pieces."

What should he now say to this friend? He could hardly overlook the frequent protestations in Browning's letters, repeated in this troublesome one, that he had "no ends to subscribe except such as will advance the good of the country, and promote your own welfare—your fortune and your fame." As he prepared to tell Browning frankly that he believed him mistaken both as to principle and policy, he may have paraphrased the Queen's famous remark in Hamlet, "The gentleman doth protest too much, methinks." He marked the reply to Browning "Private and confidential" but he was only practicing upon Browning what he wanted to say to the world:

(Private and confidential)

EXECUTIVE MANSION
WASHINGTON SEPT 22D 1861.

HON. O. H. BROWNING
MY DEAR SIR

Yours of the 17th is just received; and coming from you, I confess it astonishes me. That you should object to my adhering to a law, which you had assisted in making, and presenting to me, less than a month before, is odd enough. But this is a very small part. Genl. Fremont's proclamation, as to confiscation of property, and the liberation of slaves, is *purely political,* and not within the range of *military* law, or necessity. If a commanding General finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner, for a pasture,

[32] J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President* (New York, 1945), II: 16.

an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it, as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever; and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the General needs them, he can seize them, and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question, is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do *anything* he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of *loyal* people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure I have no doubt would be more popular with some thoughtless people, than that which has been done! But I cannot assume this reckless position; nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility. You speak of it as being the only means of *saving* the government. On the contrary it is itself the surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the government of the U. S.—any government of Constitution and laws,—wherein a General, or a President, may make permanent rules of property by proclamation?

I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law, on the point, just such as General Fremont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to is, that I as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

So much as to principle. Now as to policy. No doubt the thing was popular in some quarters, and would have been more so if it had been a general declaration of emancipation. The Kentucky Legislature would not budge till that proclamation was modified; and Gen. Anderson telegraphed me that on the news of Gen. Fremont having actually issued deeds of manumission, a whole company of our Volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded. I was so assured as to think it probable that the very arms we had furnished Kentucky would be turned against us. I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capitol. On the contrary, if you will give up your restlessness for new positions, and back me manfully on the grounds upon which you and other kind friends gave me the election, and have approved in my public documents, we shall go through triumphantly.

You must not understand I took my course on the proclamation *because* of Kentucky. I took the same ground in a private letter to General Fremont before I heard from Kentucky.

You think I am inconsistent because I did not also forbid Gen. Fremont to shoot men under the proclamation. I understand that part to be within

military law; but I also think, and so privately wrote Gen. Fremont, that it is impolitic in this that our adversaries have the power, and will certainly exercise it, to shoot as many of our men as we shoot of theirs. I did not say this in the public letter, because it is a subject I prefer not to discuss in the hearing of our enemies.

There has been no thought of removing Gen. Fremont on any ground connected with his proclamation; and if there has been any wish for his removal on any ground, our mutual friend Sam Glover can probably tell you what it was. I hope no real necessity for it exists on any ground.

Suppose you write to Hurlbut and get him to resign.

Your friend as ever

A. LINCOLN.[33]

Gustave Koerner once said that he would have liked Browning better "if he had been a little less conscious of his own superiority." [34] When he received Lincoln's letter of September 22, Browning knew that he had been scolded. But he was too thoroughly imbued with the wisdom of his own views to subside. So, on September 30, he "Wrote to President Lincoln 13 pages of fools cap in reply to his upon Fremont's proclamation." [35] This rejoinder may be variously interpreted. It may be regarded as innocently naïve, as overwhelmingly obtuse, or as an honest effort to instruct the misguided President. It certainly shows Browning without a sense of humor. He pleads that he is aware of the "multitude and magnitude" of the President's engagements, that he did not expect "a moment" of his valuable time to be consumed in replying to his communication and then belabors the unprotected President with "13 pages of fools cap." He delves into "The Principles of Natural and Politic Law" by the French author Burlamaqui, borrows from Burlamaqui quotations from Grotius and Cicero,[36] expounds for the President the difference

[33] Quoted from the original letter in the Illinois State Historical Library which is apparently in Nicolay's hand with corrections and signature by Lincoln. See also R. T. L. No. 11922 and No. 11926. The last sentence in the letter, "Suppose you write Hurlbut and get him to resign," refers to previous correspondence with Browning about General Stephen A. Hurlbut.

[34] *Koerner,* I: 479.

[35] *Diary* 502. See also R. T. L., Sept. 30, 1861 (No. 12154).

[36] J. J. Burlamaqui, *The Principles of Natural and Politic Law* (Philadelphia, 1830), Vol. II, Pt. IV. The text of Browning's quotations indicates that he got his references to Cicero and Grotius from Burlamaqui.

between a *solemn* war and some other kind of war, and reaches the conclusion that Frémont's proclamation was warranted by the law of nations. And then he leaves "the expediency of the power" to the troubled man in the White House.

Lincoln had extraordinary ability to determine when a communication critical of his administration demanded an answer. He was hardly ever guilty of an academic letter. Some of his most enduring public documents were responses to criticisms from individuals and from groups. Even then he did not write as to an individual or a group. The audience in the back of his mind was always the American people. If the criticism addressed to him did not in his judgment reach basically to the interests of the people, he wasted no time upon it. Thus he did not reply to the rejoinders of the Albany Democrats and the Ohio Democrats in the Vallandigham case. Deep in the preparation of a "Memorandum for a Plan of Campaign" [37] for fighting a war which was at his doorstep, when Browning's academic rejoinder reached him, the harassed President may have smiled to himself at the labored effort of his "very sincere and faithful friend" to have him deal with the ill-timed, ill-advised, and unauthorized proclamation of an incompetent general by reliance upon Burlamaqui, Cicero, and Grotius. He must also have had a moment's relaxation in contemplating the difference between a *solemn* war and some other kind of war with which the experienced lawyer from Quincy now sought to enlighten him. This disquisition, being a plea in avoidance, did not call for answer and got none.

[37] *Works*, VII: 3-6.

YANKEE LAND AGENT IN ILLINOIS

BY LARRY GARA

IN THE YEARS before 1850 absentee land speculators invested more money in Illinois than in any other western state.[1] In point of time, the mid-eighteen-thirties were the peak years of early speculative activity. One of the eastern companies operating from Illinois headquarters was the Boston and Western Land Company, active from 1835 until 1843. During the beginning years William S. Russell was the agent for the company, and after 1840 Cyrus Woodman took charge of the company's western land holdings. The problems these agents faced were typical of land speculators during that period.

The forty-three New England capitalists who founded the Boston and Western Land Company in August, 1835, were certain their investment would yield immediate and large returns. Since colonial days Americans had profiteered in land speculation, and now men were looking westward to the areas destined to be future population centers. To get there first with claims and titles to the land was the dream of these Yankee schemers. Shares in the land company sold for $500 and most of the holders limited their purchases to three or

[1] Ray A. Billington, "The Frontier in Illinois History," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XLIII, no. 1 (Spring, 1950), 39.

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four shares. The stockholders agreed to raise $100,000 in cash to invest in lands, and to pay all necessary expenses for the project, including the salary and expenses of a land agent. The company's three trustees collected ten per cent of the stockholder's subscription immediately, and had the prerogative of raising the remainder of the money whenever they felt it necessary. Five years, these men thought, would suffice to make a handsome profit on lands sold, and they intended winding up the company's affairs at the end of that period.[2]

Two of the company's trustees, Nathan Rice and Benjamin Sewall, were Boston merchants. The third, William J. Hubbard, was a well-known attorney. William S. Russell, the western agent who vigorously pushed for the formation of the company, was also its heaviest stockholder. Russell laid down $900 and purchased 18 shares, or $9,000 worth. He had traveled in the western country and caught the fever of speculation while there. In Illinois he met and talked with men who spoke in glowing terms of easy profits. They told him of government land increasing its value 25 per cent in two weeks, and of men who cleared twenty to thirty thousand dollars in land during one season. Russell heard stories of rich farm lands available for a song, of river junctions and "natural" dam sites which would soon be thriving cities, and of land pregnant with precious ores.[3]

William S. Russell went West in 1835 during the height of a speculative frenzy. Missouri's Senator Thomas Hart Benton later characterized 1835 and 1836 as "the two years of speculation." However, the frantic raids on the public domain soon came to an end. With the resumption of specie payments in 1836 and the ensuing shortage of hard money in the West, speculators could no longer see any prospect of selling the

[2] Contract made between William S. Russell, the trustees of the Boston and Western Land Company and the stockholders of the company, Aug. 1, 1835. Boston and Western Land Company Correspondence, Vol. 3, (Woodman MSS in the Wisconsin State Historical Library).

[3] W. Cotton Libb to William S. Russell, Dec. 8, 1835. Boston and Western Land Company Correspondence, Vol. 1, Woodman MSS.

lands they entered. Taxes on the land came due, and many of the would-be profiteers found themselves rapidly losing money. Some, like New Hampshire's Henry Hubbard, sold their lands at a considerable loss, while others held on to the property, hoping that better times would yet make real their visions of wealth.[4]

Before the panic hit, Russell had already invested $97,174.93 of the Boston and Western Land Company's money in land and property. He had bought land in Illinois, Missouri, and Wisconsin Territory. The purchases included prairie land for farming as well as lead and timber holdings. The enthusiastic novice did not limit his speculations to government purchases, but invested $700 in the Audubon Land Company, which dealt mostly in Illinois farm land, and nearly $1,500 in half breed land—tracts which had been gifts to the descendants of half breed chieftains who later sold them to speculators and squatters.[5]

Russell once bought what he believed were good prairie lands located near a town at the intersection of the Four Lakes Canal on the Wisconsin River, and subsequently learned that no such canal or town existed. The visionary New Englander also purchased lands which were near a future seminary and other tracts bordering on an academy and a lyceum. Some of these educational institutions failed to materialize and none brought settlers flocking to their sites. The biggest project of the Boston and Western Land Company was the town of Winslow, Illinois, a spot on the Pecatonica River which promised to blossom into a thriving western town. Early settlers had constructed a dam and sawmill. Russell began investing money in the town project in 1837, and furnished the capital for a flour mill, a blacksmith and wheelwright shop, and a

[4] Joseph Schafer, *Four Wisconsin Counties (Wisconsin Domesday Book, General Studies,* Vol. 2, Madison, 1927), 59; Joseph Schafer, "A Yankee Land Speculator in Wisconsin," in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Vol. VIII, no. 4 (June, 1925), 390.

[5] The half-breed tracts became hopelessly involved in legal battles and eventually proved an entire loss to the land company. Edward H. Thomas to Cyrus Woodman, Jan. 25, 1844, Woodman MSS.

shingle and lathe mill. With company funds he built a hotel and furnished it with ten beds and other equipment necessary for the establishment. In 1838 the enthusiastic Russell named the village Winslow after an early provisional governor of Massachusetts. It was a project unwisely undertaken and one which provided endless headaches for Russell and the Boston trustees.[6]

Besides making unwise investments Russell ran into other difficulties. He soon found that it was impossible to take care of such scattered land holdings and sometimes found that his lands had been sold for delinquent taxes. Russell invested $140 of company money in an abortive western newspaper which "died a natural death." Business affairs became involved and Russell found less and less time to devote to his bookkeeping. Even when he had time, he was not a good bookkeeper and careless accounting added to his confusion and worries. The untidy and inaccurate reports which Russell sent to the Boston trustees disturbed them, and they began to fear for the fate of their investments.[7]

In the winter of 1839 Russell returned to Boston to make a personal report to the trustees and stockholders. The company heads decided to hire a second agent, and one of the trustees, William J. Hubbard, suggested the name of Cyrus Woodman, one of his former law students.

The Boston Land Company offer came at an opportune time for Cyrus Woodman. Woodman, a native of Maine, had recently moved to Boston after being graduated from Bowdoin College. A period of law apprenticeship under the firm of Hubbard and Watts prepared him for Harvard Law School, which he entered in October, 1838. Graduating a year later, the young attorney entered a law partnership with George Barstow, another beginning barrister. Heavy work and meager

[6] William S. Russell to Cyrus Woodman, Dec. 13, 1842, Woodman MSS; M. H. Tilden, *The History of Stephenson County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1880), 550.

[7] William S. Russell and Cyrus Woodman to trustees of the Boston and Western Land Company, June 2, 1840, Woodman MSS.

financial returns discouraged the youthful Woodman and he turned his eyes westward. Many of his college classmates had already gone to the West, and Woodman had long contemplated such a move. When the trustees of the Boston and Western Land Company offered him a salary of $1,000 plus expenses for a year's work in the West, Woodman gladly accepted.[8]

Cyrus Woodman left Boston on December 13, 1839, with William S. Russell, who was still chief agent for the company. Twenty-five years old, Woodman was handsome with clear complexion, bright blue eyes and light brown hair. The young lawyer had excellent bearing and wore his well chosen clothes with distinction. Woodman was a greenhorn to the ways of the western world. He did, however, enter the western country with several important assets. He brought with him good health, a sense of business order and method, and a generous amount of inherent business ability. His New England education provided a veneer of culture and "good breeding," both of which were at a premium in the West of 1840. Most important of all, western businessmen knew they could tap eastern credit through Woodman.

The two agents for the Boston and Western Land Company were anxious to arrive at their headquarters in Stephenson County, Illinois, as quickly as possible. Their trip by boat and stage was rough and the weather unusually cold. After two weeks of travel they arrived at Hillsboro, Illinois, where they remained a week, comparing their land record books with receipts and patents and looking over company deeds. The young Woodman, always meticulous and careful, soon became impatient with the haphazard methods of his superior. Woodman realized that much work would have to be redone and he necessarily took upon himself the job of straightening out the affairs of the company. Sometimes the two grew weary bending over the books long hours and harsh words flew. Woodman,

[8] Cyrus Woodman, *The Woodmans of Buxton, Maine* (Boston, 1874), 64.

the younger but stronger personality, usually succeeded in influencing Russell's decisions when the two differed.[9]

After checking matters at Hillsboro, Russell and Woodman went on to their headquarters at Winslow, Illinois, where they arrived on January 14, 1840. The sight of the dapper New Englander was a strange one in the western village. His appearance caused whisperings and comments among the Illinois pioneers; some of them predicted that the "brown haired, blue eyed, pink and white young thing" would soon abandon his western adventure. Judging by his appearance alone, these settlers underestimated Cyrus Woodman's physical strength and powers of endurance.[10]

The first few months in the West were confusing ones for Woodman. Company matters were in a terrible state and he hardly knew where to begin. At least seven of the company's tracts were held in common with others and it was almost impossible to disentangle the claims and evaluate the company's interest in these holdings. Woodman found some errors in the company's record books. While working over the books the two agents were also harassed by creditors. They could neither pay their debts nor collect the money others owed them. The shortage of money in the West further complicated the picture and ruled out any possibility of land sales. All of these problems came to Woodman at once, and his limited experience and New England law training had little relevance to the job he faced as land agent. Realizing his inadequacies, Woodman faced the situation and began acquiring the skills necessary to cope with the problems.

As a land agent Cyrus Woodman needed first to learn something about land and land values. When he left New England the Boston and Western Land Company trustees told

[9] William S. Russell and Cyrus Woodman to the trustees of the Boston and Western Land Company, Jan. 6, 1840; Cyrus Woodman to William S. Russell, July 27, 1840, Woodman MSS.

[10] Ellis B. Usher, *Cyrus Woodman: A Character Sketch,* reprinted from *The Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Vol. II, no. 4 (June, 1919), 404.

him his "primary object will be to inform himself thoroughly and minutely in regard to all the company's affairs and to make himself acquainted by personal inspection as far as possible with the location, quality, value, advantages and disadvantages of the several sections" of land held by the company. They ordered him to make no new purchases, to sell as much land as soon as practicable, and to settle company matters as quickly as possible.[11]

In the spring of 1840 Cyrus Woodman looked over some of the land belonging to the Boston and Western Land Company in Illinois and Wisconsin. A shrewd Yankee, he talked with others involved in land speculation as well as with settlers and government land agents. In his first quarterly report Woodman told the trustees "it is the general impression throughout this country that those who have bought up lands on speculation will lose money." He thought it best if the affairs of the company could close but admitted that sales were out of the question at that time. Hoping to meet tax and other expenses with the proceeds of land sales proved to be fantastic. He also commented that creditors desperately needed money with none available or in sight to pay them.[12]

Cyrus Woodman advised the land company to dissolve and grant each stockholder land in proportion to the amount of money he subscribed. He especially urged disposing of the Illinois lands as soon as possible. Woodman maintained that the immense debts of Illinois caused high taxes, and that this prevented immigration to the state. He claimed that selling land to speculators was a thing of the past, and moaned, "the day of speculation in Western Lands has gone by, and the remark is true not only of the lands in Illinois, but in the West generally that sales of them can only be made to actual

[11] Boston and Western Land Company trustees to Cyrus Woodman and William S. Russell, Dec. 11, 1839. Boston and Western Land Company Correspondence, Vol. 2, Woodman MSS.

[12] Cyrus Woodman to the trustees of the Boston and Western Land Company, Apr. 1, 1840, Woodman MSS.

settlers; of course, whatever tends to keep settlers out, in the same proportion injuriously affects the price of Real Estate."[13]

Writing his report to the trustees in neat, readable script, Cyrus Woodman decided to express his dissatisfaction with the agency. William S. Russell, whose health had suffered from his previous overwork and worry, was no longer able to travel around the country, and Woodman realized there was too much work for one person to handle. After due deliberation the young agent wrote his employers that their holdings were too scattered for one agent to manage. He continued: "to look after the lands in Wisconsin—prevent trespassing—pay the taxes, to keep himself informed of their value, and to make sales as fast as practicable and expedient, would together with his duties at Winslow . . . fully occupy the time and attention of one man."[14]

Woodman soon realized that Russell would not be able to stand life in the West much longer. Besides his physical ailments, the older man's worries about the company and his own investments brought on mental disorders. Although Russell maintained his reason, Woodman and others noted that his spirits were "greatly oppressed by the existing embarrassments." Woodman discovered more errors in Russell's careless books and the older agent brooded over the loss of reputation he faced. Woodman talked with him about his problem and assured him that it was obviously carelessness rather than dishonesty that caused the difficulty. In confidential communications to the trustees Woodman also told them that he was satisfied with Russell's explanations and assured them that the matter resulted solely from "the want of a regular system."[15]

In July, 1840, having lost his entire investment, William S. Russell left Winslow, and Cyrus Woodman took complete

[13] Woodman to trustees, Apr. 1, 1840, Woodman MSS.
[14] Woodman to trustees, Apr. 1, 1840, Woodman MSS.
[15] Woodman to trustees, Apr. 1, 1840; Woodman to trustees, June 19, 1840; Woodman MSS.

charge of the land agency. It was evident that the company would ask him to become regular agent, and Woodman decided that a longer period in the West might be profitable for him. By a new agreement Woodman accepted a three-year extension of the agency with a yearly pay of $1,600 and expenses. He refused an offer to buy shares of stock in the company, preferring to "keep clear of 'joint interests' and to manage the little that I may have in my own way."[16]

In contrast to Russell, Cyrus Woodman believed in avoiding outstanding debts if at all possible, and he set about paying off those which existed. When he became agent for the land company it owed $3,075.72 to various individuals. In the summer of 1840 company trustees drew upon the stockholders for money which Woodman used in paying off these items. In August the young factor wrote to the company, "the debts contracted by Mr. Russell in this country are now all paid if I may except the note of Mr. Adams for about $126 which he was to be paid for, principally in land."[17]

Cyrus Woodman's principal mission in the West was to sell land. However, his three years as agent for the Boston and Western Land Company coincided with the worst possible time for making land sales. Everywhere he went it was known that he represented a land company but few buyers dealt with him. He had been in Illinois only one month when he said "there never was a worse time to convert real estate into cash," but the situation grew worse. By April, 1840, he was able to report only two small sales of land involving a transaction of $190. The next quarter year was still less profitable with only one sale of $100, and $75 of that purchased on credit. In his travels he met many who wanted to buy land but few who had the cash for down payments. In March, 1841, Woodman woe-

[16] Woodman to trustees, Aug. 7, 1840; Trustees of the Boston and Western Land Company to Woodman, Sept. 28, 1840; Woodman MSS.

[17] Schedule of Property Placed in Cyrus Woodman's hands by William S. Russell, Boston and Western Land Company Correspondence, Vol. 3; William J. Hubbard to Woodman, June 3, 1840; Woodman to trustees, Aug. 7, 1840; Woodman MSS.

fully reported "the truth is that there is but very little money in circulation, and since I came to Illinois the scarcity seems to have been constantly increasing. . . . There are many individuals in this country who are wishing to purchase lands, but who find it utterly impossible to make the first cash payment which I require." In the fall settlers in Christian County used wheat, livestock, and coonskins as currency. Montgomery County settlers spoke to Woodman about buying at least 1,000 acres, but the money shortage made their hopes for ownership empty. It was not until near the end of his period as agent that the Boston capitalists allowed Woodman to sell on long term credit, a common practice in the western country. Even before the extension of credit Woodman received only a small percentage of the sale money in cash at the time of the transaction. The largest cash payments he received were two for $130, one late in 1841 and the other early the following year.[18]

Not all of Cyrus Woodman's problems resulted from the want of money in the West. Many things preyed on his overburdened mind. Some trials resulted from his position as an agent for a company operating a thousand miles away at a time when transportation was slow and uncertain at best. Communications took at least three weeks to reach Woodman from Boston, and sometimes long delays occurred because the Boston lawyers used the wrong forms when Woodman made a land sale. In the summer of 1841 Woodman scolded the trustees for failing to send a deed that was necessary to clinch a land sale with an Illinois settler who had the money ready to pay when Woodman visited him. The disappointed agent remarked, "I could offer to him but poor apologies for not having the deed ready to deliver to him." Woodman had earlier requested the power to make deeds. The company complied, but the authorization arrived too late to aid the

[18] Woodman and Russell to trustees, Jan. 28, 1840; Woodman and Russell to trustees, Apr. 1, 1840; Woodman and Russell to trustees, June 2, 1840; Woodman to trustees, Mar. 20, 1841; Woodman to trustees, Feb. 10, 1843; Woodman MSS.

badly needed sale. Furthermore, the heavy burden of work began to affect even the physically strong Woodman. He was constantly tired and sensed the need of a vacation which he felt neither he nor the company could afford. In December, 1841, he lamented, "I have been six months behind my business ever since I have been in the country. I have tried hard this year to get up with it but have not succeeded. . . . My friends here tell me that I am growing old fast."[19]

The prevailing unpopularity of the speculator among western settlers affected Woodman's business relations. The Boston land company's property in Rock Island County, Illinois, he deemed practically worthless because, although consisting of only a few tracts, they were located near a large area of "speculator's land," which, reported Woodman, "has kept out the farmers and consequently injured the sale of them."[20]

Woodman also sensed prejudice against his speculative activity when, in 1841, he went about recovering land which the company had lost through tax delinquency. A Clark County settler purchased a tract of company land at public auction by paying the taxes plus the cost of advertising. The farmer "was very much pleased that he had got hold of a piece of Speculator's Land and demanded $100 to recover." However, when Woodman explained the straits of the company and the financial situation of William Russell, the Illinois farmer relinquished the deed for $50.[21]

Because few Westerners raised their voices to defend speculators' rights, county commissioners often chose speculators' claims as school land. This occurred before government officials presented the tracts for public sale and prevented the

[19] Woodman to trustees, Feb. 14, 1841; Woodman to trustees, June 8, 1841; Power of attorney from Boston and Western Land Company to Cyrus Woodman, Mar. 21, 1841, in Boston and Western Land Company Correspondence, Vol. 3; Woodman to trustees, Dec. 31, 1841; Woodman MSS.

[20] Woodman to trustees, July 30, 1841, Woodman MSS.

[21] Woodman to Russell, Mar. 2, 1841; Woodman to trustees, Feb. 14, 1841; Woodman MSS.

speculators from claiming for purchase the particular piece of land involved. The Boston and Western Land Company had title to all of its holdings except Winslow, which Russell developed before the government had surveyed it. There county officials chose some company claims for their school tract. When Woodman first learned of the plan he tried to reconcile the land company: "I trust that the company and Trustees will try and console themselves with the idea that the grapes in this case are not sour but sweet, and that they have made a generous and voluntary donation to the Township for the benefit of the rising generation." However, when Woodman discovered that the commissioners planned still more allocation of choice land, the grapes soured. He considered it "a perfect gouging operation and my feelings in relation to it have been anything but pleasant." The irate Yankee dodged the commissioners on the street so as to avoid "a quarrel, which might be of much injury and no benefit to anyone." He poured out his feelings to the Boston trustees and vowed to "wait in quiet till I get a title to the land on which Winslow stands, and then if ever I have the chance, I will mete out to them the same measure that they have measured to me." However, the calculating commissioners failed to make their claim legal and Woodman purchased the tract at public auction without any trouble.[22]

County commissioners were not alone in lacking respect for the property of speculators. In 1841 Cyrus Woodman complained "it is almost considered reputable to trespass on 'Speculator's Lands'. . . unless it is known that someone is on the watch, and that decisive measures will be taken in case of discovery." Squatters stripped timbered land of its forest resources and mineral land of its wealth. Several times Woodman caught individuals in the act of cutting timber from company property. Threats of prosecution brought temporary

[22] Woodman to trustees, July 1, 1842; Woodman to trustees, Oct. 1, 1842; Woodman MSS.

relief but the depredations continued. He often hired settlers to watch the company's tracts. For this service he paid cash and sometimes allowed the settler to use any cut timber. On one occasion he also included an offer of a land sale at an unusually low price to the person hired to watch for trespassers. At times the hatred of speculators resulted in wanton destruction of property, and Woodman lamented "if a 'speculator' should attempt to prevent depredations by prosecutions he might expect to have all his valuable timber served in the same way." Despite the danger of retaliation, Woodman advised hired help to push prosecutions of timber thieves, and on at least one occasion the threat of legal action forced the offender to pay for stolen timber. Like the original trespassers, some of the hired "eyes" were also indifferent about the property rights of "outsiders." A fellow speculator related to Woodman his story of losing $120 worth of timber on one tract in Iowa County, Wisconsin, when the hired agent "acted the Fox who was set to guard the geese."[23]

The problem of trespassers stealing company land and timber gave many uneasy moments to the Yankee land agent, but Cyrus Woodman's greatest source of difficulty came from another quarter. The incipient town of Winslow, situated in the extreme northwest corner of Stephenson County, Illinois, was Woodman's major problem in the West. William Russell began investing money in the town in the fall of 1837. Russell believed the village, located on the Pecatonica River amidst the rich prairie land of Illinois and bordered by well-stocked timber land, would inevitably grow into a thriving community. A dam was to provide power for several mills, and Russell had persuaded six New Englanders to develop these projects. Two of them, Thomas Loring and William Bradford, formed a partnership and helped build and operate the mills at Wins-

[23] Woodman and Russell to trustees, Apr. 1, 1841; Woodman to Israel Seward, July 26, 1843; Woodman to trustees, Apr. 1, 1842; Woodman to John Cummings, Dec. 1, 1842; Woodman to James Hoffman, Feb. 6, 1843; Woodman to Nathaniel Langley, July 6, 1843; Abiel Chandler to Woodman, Feb. 23, 1844; Woodman MSS.

low; the others soon left the area for greener pastures.[24]

When Cyrus Woodman arrived in Winslow in January, 1840, only a handful of inhabitants lived in the isolated village. The company he represented had already invested $14,571.87 in the place. Russell, true to his nature, had tackled the job at Winslow with little system and less good sense. To him the spot was ideal for community development, and he failed to understand that town planning and industrial development were not suitable undertakings for the Boston and Western Land Company. Russell soon discovered that towns were not natural products of environment. Settlers did not flock to the community and industry did not mushroom.[25]

Woodman realized that in order to make Winslow a paying proposition some planning was necessary. The large amount of sickness impressed him immediately. Nearly all the inhabitants had been sick with the fever and ague, and although the settlers recognized that drinking stagnant water from a nearby spring probably caused the ailment, no one had ventured to correct the situation. Woodman contracted to have a well built. Lacking money for the project, he decided to request capital from the company's Boston funds, since "wholesome water is an item that cannot be dispensed with."[26]

The shrewd town promoter believed it mere fantasy to think that settlers would gravitate to a community as disorganized and unkempt as Winslow. Accordingly, he went about bettering the settlement's physical appearance. The absence of fencing was a constant irritation to Winslow inhabitants, and in the winter of 1841 Woodman complained to his eastern employers, "there is not a fence on the place and every door in it is exposed to the hogs and cattle. It has become past longer endurance and I therefore shall put up a plain board

[24] Cyrus Woodman, Winslow, Ill. (notebook); manuscript narrative of Thomas Loring; Woodman MSS; Tilden, *History of Stephenson County,* 550.

[25] Schedule of Property Placed in Cyrus Woodman's hands by William S. Russell, Boston and Western Land Company Correspondence, Vol. 3, Woodman MSS.

[26] Woodman and Russell to trustees, Jan. 28, 1840, Woodman MSS.

fence . . . next spring."[27] He did so, and by the following summer Woodman reported a distinct improvement in the village's appearance.

Bradford and Loring had not yet completed the flour mill when the two land agents arrived at Winslow in January, 1840. A shortage of funds necessitated some arrangement whereby the agents could induce them to finish the job. Woodman offered the two a five-month lease on the flour mill in return for the work required to complete the building. This, he figured, would approximate a rent of $840 a year and was preferable to drawing on the company for another $350 to finish the mill. The other mills were already leased to Bradford and Loring. The arrangement worked well, and at the end of the five-month period the same two partners leased the flour mill, agreeing to make improvements and to pay $2,000 for the following three years.[28]

Several years prior to Woodman's appointment, Russell had planned to construct a bridge at Winslow. This was a necessity since the nearby rival village of Brewster's Ferry could easily undermine Winslow by building a bridge first. The free ferry at Winslow was old and decrepit, and Woodman complained "what is everybody's business is nobody's business and the crossing is often inconvenient and frequently bad." He took it upon himself to order repairs for the boat before the river opened for travel in the spring of 1842. Early in the same year those interested in developing Winslow subscribed money for building a bridge and Woodman used $100 of company funds for this purpose. A year and a half later the bridge was usable though not yet completed. From the state legislature Woodman obtained a charter giving him sole right to collect tolls and make repairs. In requesting the charter he made clear that his purpose was to raise only enough money to keep the bridge in good condition. He denied any

[27] Woodman to trustees, Dec. 31, 1841, Woodman MSS.

[28] Woodman and Russell to trustees, Jan. 28, 1840; Woodman to trustees, June 8, 1841; Woodman MSS.

interest in profiteering on toll collection and argued "on the contrary it is for my best interest that the bridge should be kept . . . free from toll so as to bring travel to this place."[29]

Although attempting to straighten out company affairs at Winslow, Cyrus Woodman had no illusions about its possibilities. In the summer of 1840 he told the trustees of the land company that "Winslow may in the course of time become a small village but it will never rise to much importance. It will support after a while, a good tavern—a good store—a blacksmith, tailor and other merchants."[30]

The dam required constant attention, yet without its services nothing could operate at Winslow. Sometimes muskrats ate the wood, and on other occasions heavy rains damaged the structure. The continual drain of funds by the waterway caused Woodman to remark, "that miserable dam will cost more than the whole property is worth," but he always kept it in repair. The water power was too weak for Winslow's uses, and often low water forced all the mills into inactivity. Then too, prevailing sickness kept settlers from coming to Russell's "paper town." Even with these drawbacks, Woodman reported that the location was as good for a village as any within several miles. The presence of interested people at Winslow saved much valuable timber on nearby land, although Woodman pointed out that the town project would always hang heavy on the company formed primarily to sell land. Such a program required different management and the presence of a full-time agent in the town. Several times Woodman suggested selling all the improvements at Winslow if a buyer appeared.[31]

In the meantime Woodman did all in his power to promote growth at Winslow. He believed that encouraging in-

[29] Woodman to trustees, Dec. 31, 1841; William J. Hubbard to Woodman, Feb. 1, 1842; Woodman to trustees, Feb. 10, 1843; Woodman to Hubbard Grave, Jan. 30, 1843; Woodman MSS.

[30] Woodman was correct. The population of Winslow in 1940 was 379.

[31] Woodman and Russell to trustees, Jan. 28, 1840; Woodman to Bradford and Loring, Aug. 18, 1841; Woodman to trustees, Aug. 7, 1840; Woodman to trustees, Jan. 4, 1841; Woodman MSS.

dustrious New Englanders to settle there would assure some kind of future for the little village. He considered the company fortunate to have the services of Bradford and Loring, and encouraged them to settle in Winslow by offering them low rent for the mills and giving them a lot for constructing a dwelling. They accepted the offer, although the drop in flour prices in 1842, coupled with transportation problems and a leak in the Winslow dam, thoroughly discouraged the two Yankees. The pretentious house they built cost $1,500 besides their labor, and the status symbolized in such a building was purchased dearly when they could ill afford such luxury. Cyrus Woodman also gave lots to other eastern settlers and gave a lot to William Shortreed, a local settler, on which to build a badly needed store.[32]

When Woodman made the agreement with Shortreed, giving him permission to build a store, he forbade Shortreed to sell or dispense "ardent spirits" on the premises.[33] This was a common feature of Woodman's gift deeds as well as the land tracts he later sold. The arrangement stemmed from Woodman's feeling that Winslow should not acquire the reputation of the usual western town for drinking brawls. One independent settler named Webster carried on a running feud with Woodman over the matter of selling liquor. After repeated promises and numerous violations, Webster was notified to leave. Finally Woodman obtained a $100 bond to keep the fellow to his word and that solved the problem. In explaining the matter to his employers Woodman carefully stated that he was not a strict temperance man himself. He was merely "unwilling in a little place like Winslow, to have a grocery, which should be the 'stamping ground' of all the drunkards and loafers in the vicinity." The Yankee agent reluctantly ad-

[32] Woodman and Russell to trustees, Apr. 1, 1840; Woodman to trustees, Aug. 7, 1840; Woodman to trustees, July 30, 1841; Woodman to trustees, Oct. 1, 1842; Woodman MSS.

[33] Since the land company did not yet hold title to the tract, Woodman could only promise to give Shortreed a deed to the property if and when he bought the land from the government.

mitted that perhaps he would have to modify the provision later to accommodate the feelings of "the Western people, who are generally in favor of the 'largest liberty.' "[34]

Regulating the morals of the villagers was only one of Woodman's problems. The government's delay in offering Winslow for sale gave birth to considerable uneasiness on the part of Woodman and the land company trustees. Until government surveyors went over the land and the land agent offered it for sale at public auction, the Boston and Western Land Company owners had no title to the land. The surveyor finished his job in the fall of 1840, but the government land agent delayed posting sale notices until January, 1843. Settlers generally favored delay in government land sales, hoping that such extra time would enable them to accumulate enough capital to buy the land they wanted. When the government land office finally held a public auction at Dixon, Illinois, Woodman was pleasantly surprised. No one competed for the land at Winslow, and he purchased the entire 474.40 acres at the minimum price of $1.25 an acre.[35]

After buying the land Woodman helped county officials lay out town plots, and sold several building lots. In the spring Woodman rejoiced when he contracted to sell the Winslow hotel, which had always been extra trouble for him. It was difficult to find people to operate a "decent" establishment. Although the building and equipment cost more than $1,500, Woodman considered himself fortunate to sell it for that amount. As for other Winslow enterprises, craftsmen did well in the town, but low rainfall in 1843 failed to furnish enough water power to keep the flour mill going. Bradford and Loring, reported Woodman, "had a hard row to hoe." At the

[34] Woodman to Webster, Mar. 8, 1842; agreement made between Woodman and William Shortreed at Winslow, Ill., June 12, 1841. In Boston and Western Land Company Correspondence, Vol. 3; Woodman to trustees, Apr. 1, 1843; Woodman MSS.

[35] Woodman to trustees, Nov. 27, 1840; Woodman to trustees, Jan. 19, 1843; Woodman to Hubbard Grave, Jan. 30, 1843; Woodman MSS.

same time he predicted a loss of at least $600 for three years' flour milling on their part.[36]

As land agent, Woodman found that traveling constituted much of his work. He personally examined all of the lands held by the company and went from county to county to pay taxes on the land, oversee rent and mineral collections, check deeds, collect patents, and sell land whenever possible. During February, 1841, Woodman traveled over 600 miles on horseback. At the end of the year the young agent wearily reported, "after having traveled the last year more than 3000 miles on horseback, it would certainly be agreeable to my feelings not to mount a horse again for some three or four months to come." Travel in the West was difficult and examining lands was no easy task. In the summer the weather was "hot, vegetation at its height, and the flies and mosquitoes . . . in their glory." Other seasons brought "miserable, cloudy, Sucker weather." In the winter snow drifted high on Illinois prairie land. On one occasion Woodman broke through the ice with a horse and sleigh on the Sangamon River. A cold March wind thoroughly chilled both "Sparkey" and Woodman after their cold bath in the freezing water. Fortunately neither became ill although the experience, Woodman conceded, "was by no means agreeable."[37]

Paying county taxes was one of Woodman's chores that involved constant traveling. Some counties levied road and school taxes in addition to the usual county taxes. County officials allowed settlers to work off road taxes, and when possible Woodman hired settlers to supply road labor to the county for his tax sum. He usually paid settlers 75 cents a day while the county allowed $1.50 a day towards the tax. Some of the company lands were of little value, and in these instances Woodman allowed the tax to go unpaid. On several occasions

[36] Woodman to trustees, Feb. 10, 1843; Woodman to trustees, Apr. 1, 1843; Woodman MSS.

[37] Woodman to Bradford and Loring, Mar. 1, 1841; Woodman to trustees, Dec. 31, 1841; Russell and Woodman to trustees, June 2, 1840; Woodman to Bradford and Loring, Jan. 7, 1841; Woodman MSS.

the land company protested taxation when Woodman felt that assessors had deliberately over-evaluated the property. Over-assessment was a favorite anti-speculator device.[38]

In some counties Woodman used county orders for paying taxes. Counties issued orders to individuals for services rendered and they were seldom good for anything but tax payment. Consequently they usually sold at large discount. Tax officials always accepted county orders at face value. In 1840 Woodman reduced the company tax bill from $1,102.43 to $966.84 by purchasing county orders and by hiring men to work out road taxes. Illinois required land owners to pay state as well as county taxes. These could be paid in auditor's warrants which sold for fifty per cent discount in 1843. In most of the states where Woodman had business relations depreciated paper money was also acceptable for tax money. However, when many western banks failed in the summer of 1842, Illinois' Governor Thomas Carlin issued an order prohibiting collectors from taking depreciated bank notes for taxes. Six months earlier Woodman, who favored a stable currency, expressed a "fervent wish that our Legislature . . . will decapitate" all the banks in the state. The decapitation came without warning, however, and as a result Woodman held $269 in worthless bank notes.[39]

To counterbalance the expense of taxes, Woodman received payments from the company's mineral holdings. Although the government forbade the sale of mineral lands, and followed a policy of leasing such resources, the Boston and Western Land Company, through William Russell, had purchased its mineral holdings as prairie and timber tracts. Miners paid rent to the company in lead, usually one fifth of the total amount. Settlers often took minerals from company land with-

[38] Woodman to trustees, Dec. 31, 1841; Woodman to William J. Hubbard, Jan. 19, 1842; Woodman to Rev. R. Spaulding, June 26, 1843; Woodman to assessor of Edgar County, Ill., Mar. 8, 1841; Woodman MSS.

[39] Woodman to trustees, July 1, 1842; Woodman to Timothy R. Young, Sept. 11. 1842; Woodman to John Hayward, Nov. 9, 1842; Woodman MSS

out permission. In the fall of 1840 Woodman hired Charles Stephenson of English Prairie, Illinois, to look after the company's lead interests. In 1841 the company realized about $900 from its lead holdings. The next year diggings were good but the price dropped, and Woodman ordered Stephenson to sell the lead on the ground rather than at Galena. Freight rates were high, and smelters paid more for the mineral on the ground than at smelting points. However, that year the company cleared only $391 on its lead, and Woodman's hope of paying all company expenses with these proceeds proved premature. Nevertheless he continually encouraged men to work the mineral lands for he felt that these tracts were the most valuable company holdings.[40]

Even though occupied with matters pertaining to western business, lead mining, and land, Cyrus Woodman did not forget his New England homeland. The scenes of upper Illinois reminded Cyrus of Maine landscapes, and frequent letters from New Englanders kept him informed of eastern events. Many friends wrote to Woodman asking about his return, and in the summer of 1843 he decided to visit New England, in the interest of the Boston and Western Land Company. He had previously notified the trustees that he would not continue as agent under existing conditions, and again recommended that the company dissolve. When he appeared in Boston before the trustees and stockholders on a hot summer afternoon, with maps and plats in hand and persuasive argument prepared, his logic and decisive manner convinced the interested parties. They divided the land under his direction and declared the Boston and Western Land Company dissolved. The erstwhile stockholders became individual owners of the company's 46,994.27 acres, and Cyrus Woodman purchased 534.21 acres of the land on credit. To divide all these holdings and satisfy

[40] Woodman to Charles S. Stephenson, June 5, 1841; Woodman to trustees, July 30, 1841; Woodman to trustees, July 1, 1842; Woodman to trustees, Oct. 1, 1842; Woodman to Charles S. Stephenson, Nov. 8, 1842; Woodman to trustees, Feb. 10, 1843; Woodman MSS.

the investors was a remarkable achievement for the youthful land agent.[41]

There was no more Boston and Western Land Company. The get-rich-quick scheme of the eastern capitalists had failed, yet the venture was not a complete loss. Each of the stockholders held land in individual ownership, and the company had contributed something to the West. Some settlers had earned money mining on company property; others received badly needed cash for working out road taxes, protecting company property from trespassers, or helping Woodman to examine lands. The company also supplied welcome credit to purchasers and some skilled workers went to Illinois as a result of company activity. Many a wary squatter had successfully raided timber and lead from company lands, and more than one county benefited from the taxes paid by the Boston and Western Land Company. These were not the aims the Boston speculators had in mind when they formed the company in 1835, but the Bostonians were outnumbered and too far away to apply their collective skills in the struggle. In the West everybody was a speculator, and in the competition for profit the absentee Yankee owners were no match for the shrewd and independent western settlers.

[41] Woodman to trustees, Feb. 10, 1843; Woodman to trustees, Mar. 20, 1843; Plat book of Boston and Western Land Company; Woodman MSS.

JOSEPH KIRKLAND'S NOVELS

BY CLYDE E. HENSON

WHEN Joseph Kirkland began seriously to attempt the writing of a novel based on early life in Illinois, he turned to a locale which he knew from firsthand experience. That locale was Tilton, Illinois, and the surrounding area, including Danville, which he thinly disguised as Danfield, and Springfield, which he called Springville. Kirkland's first novel, *Zury: The Meanest Man in Spring County,* published in May, 1887, and revised in December, 1887, gives an accurate picture of life in the central part of Illinois which Kirkland knew during the years immediately preceding and following the Civil War.[1]

Joseph Kirkland was born in New York on January 7, 1830, and was taken by his parents to Michigan during the early days of the land rush there. In the 1840's the family moved to New York City, where Kirkland grew to manhood. After a time as a sailor on a packet plying from New York to England and France, he became a clerk in the offices of *Putnam's Monthly Magazine.* In 1856, he was an auditor for the

[1] For studies of the revision see Kenneth La Budde, "A Note on the Text of Joseph Kirkland's *Zury*," *American Literature,* Vol. XX (Jan., 1949), 452-55; Clayton A. Holaday, "Joseph Kirkland: Biography and Criticism" (Ph. D. thesis, University of Indiana, 1949); Clyde E. Henson, "The Life and Work of Joseph Kirkland: An Introduction to an Edition of *Zury: The Meanest Man in Spring County*" (Ph. D. thesis, Western Reserve University, 1950).

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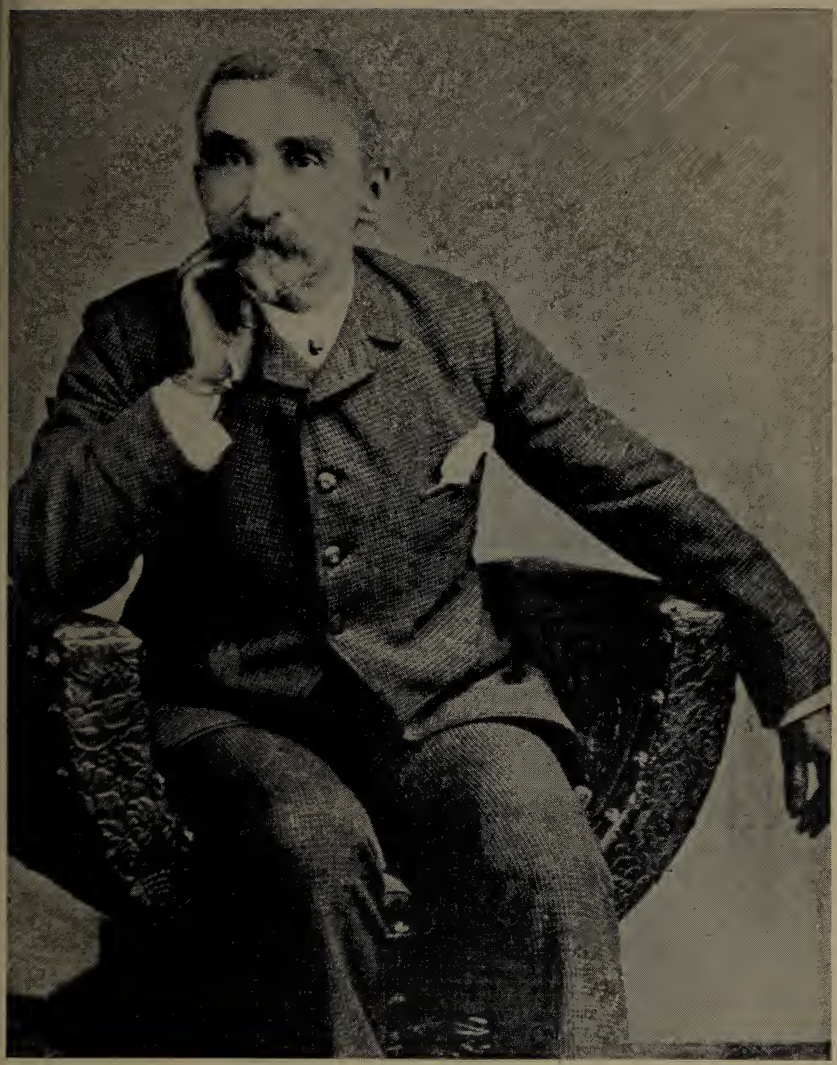

JOSEPH KIRKLAND

Frontispiece photograph from his prize-winning book *The Captain of Company K,* which was published in 1891.

Illinois Central Railroad in Chicago, and in 1858, the manager of coal mines operated by the Carbon Coal Company at Tilton, Illinois. In 1861, he enlisted in the Twelfth Illinois Infantry, becoming a lieutenant in Company C. Later he became an aide-de-camp of General George B. McClellan. Late in 1861 he was breveted major, but he resigned his commission shortly afterward, in 1862, to return to Tilton.[2]

In 1863, Kirkland married Theodosia Burr Wilkinson of Syracuse, New York, and the couple lived in Tilton. After the death of his mother, Caroline Matilda Kirkland, Joseph brought his two sisters and his brother to Tilton to live with him. Over a period of years, the two brothers, Joseph and William Kirkland, acquired land in the Grape Creek area. They began a coal mining business, which by 1868 had become large enough to enable Joseph to move his family to Chicago. Until 1885, Kirkland was occupied with the struggles of making money, but in that year he attained a position which freed him from worry over finances. He began to try his hand at the writing of a novel, and in the next two years he completed the work on *Zury.* The book was published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

The novel is concerned with life on the prairies of central Illinois. Set in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, the story of *Zury* deals with a central character, Zury Prouder, whose prototype was Usury Meeker, an early settler in the area.[3]

Zury Prouder is, as William Dean Howells has pointed out, a new type of character in American fiction, the western pioneer farmer whose main aim in life is the making of

[2] *U. S. Congress, Senate Documents,* 46 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 37, Parts 1-2 (Washington, 1879), 466. For sketches of Kirkland's life see Holaday, "Joseph Kirkland: Biography and Criticism"; Henson, "The Life and Work of Joseph Kirkland"; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1933), X: 431-32. The Kirkland papers are in the Newberry Library, Chicago. Miss Winifred Wilson, Evanston, Illinois, has a collection of Kirkland papers which include many items not in the Newberry Library.

[3] *Chicago Daily News,* Oct. 26, 1926. Letter from Lucius Nebeker, Covington, Ind., to Miss Winifred Wilson, Feb. 29, 1928.

money.[4] Kirkland makes Zury into the richest man in the area. But Anne Sparrow, the heroine of the novel, a school teacher from Boston, teaches Zury that money is a means to an end, not an end in itself, and the book ends on a note of optimism.

The house which Kirkland described as the Prouder family home was the house in which the Kirkland family lived in Tilton. Located on the Tilton-Danville road, it was typical of large houses built primarily as shelter alone. The Kirklands remodeled the house, installed plumbing, landscaped the grounds, and made the place a symbol of luxury to the other residents of the area. Kirkland made Zury Prouder, under Anne's influence, into a sort of country squire. The Prouder house is remodeled, plumbing is installed, the grounds are landscaped, and the house is made into a symbol of luxury to the local citizens.

In his second novel, *The McVeys: An Episode,* Kirkland tried to show village life in central Illinois. He chose Danville as the locale, and the family is carried through a series of incidents which lead to its removal to a large brick house in Springfield. Kirkland also used the area around Galena, Illinois, as a part of the setting for this novel. The work is not as strong as his first one, but Kirkland decided to write a third novel, this time on the theme of the common soldier in the Civil War.

In his war novel, *The Captain of Company K*, published serially in the *Detroit Free Press*, June 14-July 10, 1890, and in book form in 1891, Kirkland used Chicago as the principal setting. He described the Wigwam, where Lincoln had been nominated for the presidency, the ruins of old Fort Dearborn, and the preparations for war which engaged the city. Kirkland knew the city well: the ruins of the old Fort were still standing when he arrived there in 1856; he had lived on Huron Street; he had seen the fire of 1871; he had helped in rebuilding the city, erecting his own home at 161 Rush Street; and he

[4] *Harper's Monthly Magazine,* Vol. LXXVII (June, 1888), 153.

used his knowledge to establish the setting for his novel.

In addition to his descriptions of Chicago, Kirkland gave detailed accounts of the training camps for Illinois Volunteers. He described Camp Douglas, the rendezvous for the volunteers, at the corner of Cottage Grove and Forest avenues, and the camp at Cairo, Illinois, where he trained. He paid particular attention to the hotels of Cairo, especially the old St. Charles, where, he pointed out, soldiers could find luxuries almost forgotten—"A locked door, a glazed window, plastered walls, a half-carpeted floor, a furnished wash-stand, and, luxury of luxuries, a mattress bed, with a pillow and bedclothes."[5] At the end of the work Kirkland returned to the city of Chicago. He pictured the change which the war had brought: the increase in trade and commerce; the expansion of the city itself; the new buildings with an air which showed the increased wealth of the city; and the change which society had undergone.

Joseph Kirkland's three novels give vivid pictures of life in the locales which he used for settings. His interest in realism brought forth his best efforts to be faithful to that which he knew from observation. And, with increasing interest in realism came an interest in history itself. He spent his last years writing *The Story of Chicago* (1891), *The Chicago Massacre of 1812* (1893), and in helping John Moses, author of a two-volume history of Illinois and secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, edit the two-volume *History of Chicago* (1895). Kirkland died in the midst of his work, in 1894, and the editing job was completed by his daughter Caroline. But his efforts in the field of history give no clearer picture of life in Illinois than do his novels, which are, indeed, social studies of the periods and places with which they are concerned.

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[5] Joseph Kirkland, *The Captain of Company K* (Chicago, 1891), 32.

THE PIKES PEAK GOLD RUSH

BY WAYNE C. TEMPLE

THE FIRST NEWS of gold discoveries in the Pikes Peak country, in September, 1858, provoked only a mild response in Illinois. The people of this state were already preoccupied by politics. The Lincoln-Douglas debates were then in full swing. And those newspaper editors who noticed the gold reports at all were generally skeptical.[1] It was too late in the season for any but the most foolhardy to hazard the trip across the plains. During the winter, however, city merchants accumulated travelers' goods to meet the demand they anticipated in the spring. As early as March 2, 1859, much special gear was ready for sale in Chicago: "Pike's Peak boots," trunks, valises, and even mules, five hundred of which had been assembled to serve as teams for the prospectors' wagons.[2]

The approach of spring found Illinois newspapers divided in their attitude toward emigration to the gold fields. Most of those in the smaller towns opposed it. The *Central Illinois Gazette,* urging local residents to remain at home, in Champaign County, predicted that, "if twenty men were divided

[1] *Central Illinois Gazette* [Champaign], Nov. 10, 1858.
[2] *Chicago Press and Tribune,* Mar. 2, 22, Apr. 9, 1859. Cited hereafter as *Tribune.*

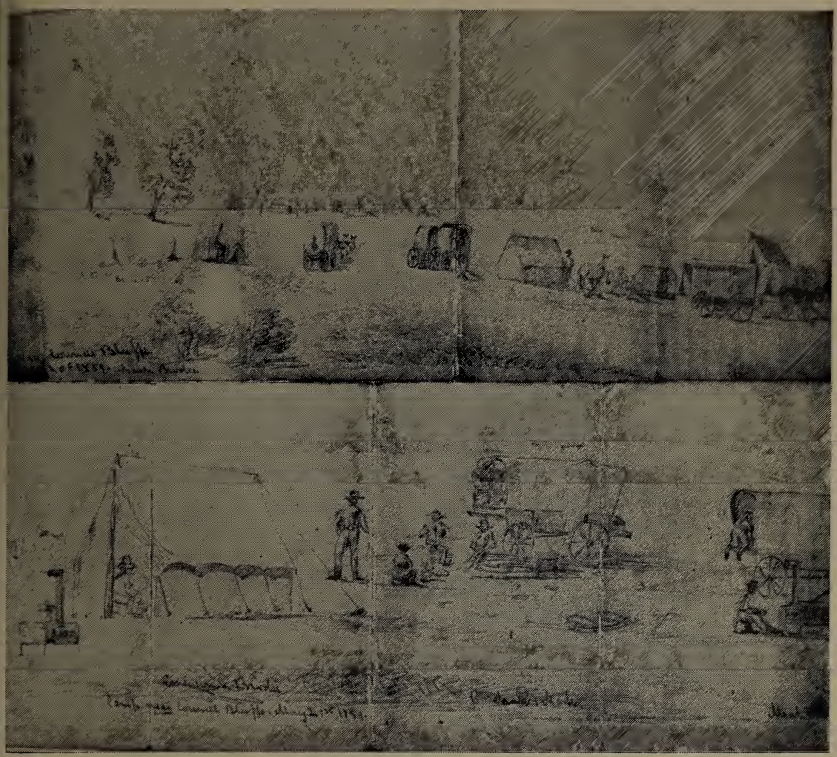
Wayne C. Temple is a research assistant in the history department of the University of Illinois. He is working on a biography of Noah Brooks, the newspaperman and author who was to succeed John G. Nicolay, as Lincoln's secretary. This Pikes Peak article is a by-product of that biography, since Brooks was one of the Illinois emigrants.

next spring and ten of them should go to the mines for ten years and the other ten stay and farm the prairies of Central Illinois, at the end of the time the ten who stayed here will be able to buy out the floaters—mining tools, big stories, and all."[3] Again, this paper argued that there was "more real wealth in Champaign County farming lands, acre for acre, than in all the Cherry Creek El Dorado."[4]

Editors in agricultural communities feared the loss of farm owners and farm hands. But editors in the larger cities approved the prospective gold rush, because it would mean new trade for their merchants and new sales for their manufacturers. The "gold fever," which they favored, received a stimulus when, in February, 1859, a Clinton man brought $5,000 worth of gold home from the diggings and put a $40 nugget on display in the window of the local newspaper office.[5] The *Illinois State Journal,* at Springfield, which had earlier cautioned its readers to "prove all things; hold fast to that which is good," finally succumbed to the fever and designated a correspondent to go west and report the rush.[6]

The exodus from Illinois began in March, 1859, and continued through the summer. Skiffs and larger river boats loaded with men and equipment floated down the Illinois River and then headed up the Missouri and the Platte. River towns like Ottawa and Peoria witnessed hordes of "hardy, industrious men" passing by, and lost hundreds of their own population in a movement that seemed "incredibly large."[7] From Alton a group of twenty men loaded a pile of provisions and equipment, including wagons and twenty-four yoke of oxen, on board a steamer bound for Leavenworth, whence they planned to continue their journey overland.[8] From Men-

[3] *Central Illinois Gazette,* Jan. 5, 1859. Cited hereafter as *Gazette.*
[4] *Gazette,* Mar. 30, 1859.
[5] *Clinton* [Ill.] *Transcript* article reprinted in *Gazette,* Feb. 9, 1859.
[6] Feb. 11, Apr. 30, 1859.
[7] *Ottawa Free Trader,* Mar. 18, 1859, reprinted in *Tribune,* Mar. 22, 1859. *Peoria Union,* Apr. 18, 1859, reprinted in *Tribune,* Apr. 20, 1859.
[8] *Alton Courier* article reprinted in *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], Apr. 23, 1859.



CAMP LIFE OF '59ERS NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS

These two drawings were made by Noah Brooks on May 20 and 21, 1859. They are now owned by Mrs. Beatrice Lanphier, of Dixon, Illinois. The lettering "A. H. & Co." on the camp stove at the lower left stands for Alexander and Howell, the firm that made the stoves.

ard County various parties left by wagon for Hannibal to take the railroad to St. Joseph.[9] From Clay County a group went to St. Louis, to be augmented by others from that city.[10] Pike County emigrants left with the slogan painted on their wagons: "From Pike County to Pike's Peak."[11] All over Illinois the gold seekers were stirring.

A Dixon group of five men, who struck out by wagon and

[9] *Illinois State Journal,* Apr. 11, 1859.

[10] Ralph P. Bieber, ed., "Diary of a Journey to the Pike's Peak Gold Mines in 1859," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* Vol. XIV (Dec., 1927), 362.

[11] Alice Polk Hill, *Tales of the Colorado Pioneers* (Denver, 1884), 24.

ox-team on April 15, included the afterwards famous newspaper correspondent, author, and Lincoln's choice for private secretary in 1865—Noah Brooks. Having failed as a farmer, a merchant, and a commercial painter, Brooks was working for the *Dixon Telegraph* when he decided to seek his fortune at Pikes Peak. His party, unlike many of the others, made elaborate preparations for the long trip, even equipping themselves with a small camp stove, which they had two local hardware men make.[12] On the way to Council Bluffs they joined a wagon train from Warsaw, Illinois, which was led by an "old Californian who belongs in Marysville, Cal." and was headed for his home town.[13] The Dixon men decided to go on to California. There Brooks bought an interest in the *Marysville Appeal* and continued his newspaper work, with more success than in Illinois. The "gold fever," which was to provide materials for his great children's story, *The Boy Emigrants,* contributed to his future fame as a journalist and author.

Three main routes were used by the gold seekers of 1859 to reach their destination. The northern route led out overland across Iowa, through Cedar Rapids[14] and on to Council Bluffs. At this point the travelers followed the mighty Platte westward until they reached the concourse of the North and South Platte, where they swung off on the south branch and followed it to Denver. The middle course was known as the Smoky Hill route. Miners floated down the Illinois or Mississippi river to Alton or St. Louis and then proceeded up the Missouri to Kansas City where they branched off into the

[12] Beatrice H. Lanphier, Dixon, Ill., to author, Feb. 12, 1950. Philip Maxwell Alexander and George Howell were the two hardware men who made this stove. Alexander was Mrs. Lanphier's uncle, and Howell was her grandfather; they operated a tin shop behind their hardware store where they made this stove.

[13] Noah Brooks to Philip Maxwell Alexander, Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, July 25, 1859. The original letter was destroyed by fire, but Mrs. Lanphier, of Dixon, has a copy.

[14] A Mr. Church, the collector of the Cedar Rapids Bridge across the Cedar River, reported that during March and April, 429 wagons and 1,481 men had crossed his bridge. There had been 82 wagons from Illinois, 241 from Wisconsin, and 95 from Iowa. The rest were from other states, Indiana, Ohio, etc. *Cedar Valley* [Iowa] *Times* article reprinted in *Tribune,* May 4, 1859.

Kansas River and headed straight west to the valley of the Smoky Hill River which led into the gold regions. The southern route followed the Arkansas River to its source high in the hills of Colorado.

The northern route along the Platte was the most favored trail because of the good pasture for the animals and the plentiful water supply for both man and beast. The southern route was too far out of the way for Illinois men, and the Smoky Hill route was considered to be highly dangerous because of the short supply of water and pasture. One B. D. Williams, a conductor on one of the first express lines through the Smoky Hill country, related a sad tale concerning three Illinois brothers who followed this route. Their food supply became exhausted, and one of the brothers, before he perished, suggested that the survivors eat his body. This cannibalism continued until only one brother remained. He was discovered by Williams, who took him out of this nightmare.[15]

After slow and tortuous trips to the mines the Illinoisans returned various reports to their friends back home. Some, like a Mr. Jackson from Henry County who had gone to the gold fields during the winter, were discouraged and wanted to sell their holdings. He wrote to his father that he was prepared to dispose of his property to the spring emigration. The present claim holders in Arapahoe County, he reported, were ready to "skin" the new arrivals by selling them "town sites and bad whisky." According to Jackson there were twelve hundred gold seekers in his vicinity, and none of them was finding any gold.[16] A Clark County man returned a very comical report of his experiences. Evidently he had had extremely poor fortune because he satirically wrote that the top of Pikes Peak was composed of gold for a distance of four or five hundred miles! One of his friends, John Addis, he claimed, had

[15] Nolie Mumey, *History of the Early Settlements of Denver (1599-1860)* (Glendale, Calif., 1942), 127-28.

[16] *Rock Island Argus* article reprinted in *Tribune*, Apr. 14, 1859.

found two bushel bags full of pearls, but with all of their "wealth" they could not buy onion tops.[17]

Others had better fortune. T. J. Donahue from Bloomington reported that his party at Auraria City was well satisfied. They had discovered a good claim which they named the "Bloomington Diggings," and they expected to average a dollar per pan.[18] A Chicago party, aided by George Jackson who was a veteran miner from California, struck pay dirt in May on a small branch of Clear Creek and named the site the "Chicago bar."[19] J. C. Leeper from Farmington returned from the mines in the autumn with $16,000 worth of gold dust, and he planned to return again the following spring with a quartz mill He had hired men to aid him in working his claim, and their wages had amounted to around $6,000.[20]

Some Illinois men turned to their previous skills or professions when they failed to find gold. Denver City and Auraria were fast growing settlements, and there were openings for various trades in these two towns. As early as 1859 these communities listed 249 merchants, doctors, butchers, barbers, etc., and twenty-two of this number were from the various corners of the Sucker State. Denver City even boasted an ambrotypist from Chicago by the name of Wakely, and Auraria, a gunsmith, G. W. Hightower, from Quincy.[21] These Illinoisans found their "gold" in the flourishing trade which they carried on with the miners. Two Chicago men, Hap Martin and C. A. Case, established a hotel, which they called the Tremont House, in Mountain City, Kansas Territory.[22] John Knight from central Illinois earned his living by cutting hay

[17] Letter dated July 4, 1859, and reprinted in *Gazette,* Aug. 17, 1859.

[18] T. J. Donahue to the *Bloomington Pantagraph,* Auraria City, K. T., June 2, 1859, reprinted in the *Gazette,* June 29, 1859.

[19] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888* (San Francisco, 1890), 376.

[20] *Gazette,* Nov. 9, 1859.

[21] "Denver City and Auraria, the Commercial Emporium of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions in 1859." A facsimile of this directory is enclosed in a cover pocket of Mumey's *History of the Early Settlements of Denver.*

[22] "Quartz" to *Tribune,* Mountain City, K. T., June 17, 1860, printed on June 30, 1860.

and selling it in Kansas City for $8.00 a ton. Four other men joined Knight in this enterprise, which also included wolf hunting (for the pelts) and buffalo slaughtering (for the saleable meat). These combination farmers and hunters planned eventually to settle some place on the Arkansas River.[23]

By autumn of 1859 many of the men who failed to find gold or who disliked the work and the living conditions had returned to their homes. Using Springfield as an example, it is evident that many of the well known community citizens returned after a few months at the mines. Dr. Preston H. Bailhache, who had acted as a correspondent for the *Illinois State Journal*, was back in town on October 8. He reported that every day while he was on the road back he had counted an average of twenty-five teams and wagons also retracing their steps.[24] Another Springfieldian, Dr. William Helm, had returned the latter part of August.[25] About this same time, Guy Hotchkiss turned up and announced that the Springfield men who had remained at their diggings were "well, and most of them doing well."[26] Those that had remained behind, however, were forced to dig in for the winter, and back in Illinois only the stories of the returned prospectors invaded the quiet that descended during the winter months which followed.

The first thing that heralded the beginning of the second great exodus of prospectors in 1860, was again the activities of the Chicago merchants. They in turn were encouraged by the *Press and Tribune* to start their sales campaigns early. During the first part of February this newspaper urged businessmen to "profit by this movement of the people westward." "This trade," the editor pointed out, "is all a cash business, and hence it is very desirable to secure it." The readers were informed that the leading gun houses in Chicago, George T.

[23] *Gazette*, Jan. 25, 1860. A correspondent for the *Missouri Democrat* wrote from Denver City on Jan. 5, 1860, that wolf pelts were worth $1.00 apiece. *Tribune*, Jan. 18, 1860.
[24] *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 10, 1859.
[25] *Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 29, 1859.
[26] *Illinois State Journal*, Aug. 25, 1859.

Abbey, and Eaton & Company, had enjoyed a very profitable trade in 1859 because they "had what emigrants wanted, sold cheap, and *advertised liberally.*"[27] Chicago was becoming an outfitting center for emigrants from several states, and she greatly enjoyed this increased trade.

The prospectors of 1860 received valuable information which the emigrants of 1859 had not enjoyed; for their benefit the best routes of travel were described in the newspapers. A reporter for the *Press and Tribune,* who had himself gone west the previous year, warned the miners not to take the "Great Central" route, sometimes called the Smoky Hill route. This route, he admonished, was the worst possible way. Instead, he suggested the northern route through Iowa. This path crossed the Missouri at Plattsmouth, where there was a good "steam ferry," and followed the south branch of the Platte into the gold regions. Emigrants were also advised to take a six months' supply of food because "hundreds died on the plains" in 1859.[28] Valuable information regarding the grazing prospects was reported to Chicago by a newspaper in Omaha which warned that prospectors would find "close nipping" on the plains even several weeks after the latter part of March.[29] Despite these warnings, the Illinois men left about two weeks earlier than the '59ers had.

This early migration caused one Chicago editor to prophesy that the "emigration this season is to be more healthy and permanent than formerly." "Men," he wrote, "will go prepared, and prepared to stay, to build homes and a new State but beyond the frontiers."[30] And Chicago did lose many young men to the gold fields; large groups left the city all spring long. Other parties were formed, as in '59, in nearly every community in the state. It is impossible to formulate accurate statistics on the number of men who traveled west

[27] *Tribune,* Feb. 10, 1860.
[28] *Tribune,* Feb. 22, 1860.
[29] *Omaha Nebraskian,* Mar. 22, 1860, reprinted in *Tribune,* Mar. 30, 1860.
[30] *Tribune,* Mar. 14, 1860.

by wagon on the northern route in 1860, but it is possible to give an estimate of this number. Omaha lay on this route, and her newspapers kept an account of the number of wagons and men, including their places of origin, which passed through her streets. One report, covering the six weeks' period ending May 20, disclosed that a total of 1,526 wagons and 4,602 men had crossed the Missouri River at Omaha during this check period. Of this number, 142 wagons and 420 men were from Illinois.[31] Thus, it would appear that Illinois contributed 9.3 per cent of the wagons and 9.1 per cent of the men who traveled this northern route during the period of greatest migration in 1860. The average number of men per wagon was, in round numbers, three.

According to this estimate Illinois contributed only about ten per cent of the total number of emigrants who went west through Omaha, and this point of crossing, according to the *Omaha Nebraskian,* was used by about "three-fourths of the emigration . . . to the mines."[32] If this statement is true, then the figures which were used to obtain this estimate should be fairly representative of the travel on the northern route. Illinois was but one of several states that used this route to the west. Many people from Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania also passed over this trail. In consideration of this fact, Illinois' ten per cent of the total migration does not represent a very serious drain upon her man power. This hypothesis seems to be borne out by a statement made by the editor of the *Davenport* [Iowa] *Gazette* in the spring of 1860. "Of course Wisconsin and Illinois," wrote the editor, "have furnished a large proportion of the emigrants, but from the information we have received, we are satisfied that Iowa will lose, on an average, fifty ablebodied men from each organized county."[33] Such a large number

[31] *Tribune,* May 29, 1860. These figures were compiled from the weekly reports covering this same period. These weekly reports give the names and places of origin.

[32] Mar. 22, 1860, reprinted in *Tribune,* Mar. 30, 1860.

[33] *Tribune,* Mar. 28, 1860.

greatly exceeded Illinois' contribution, but of course, it is impossible to tell how many Illinois men left the state by railroad.

Conditions at the mines were hard, and this fact discouraged many of the miners just as it had in '59. Men, like Nels S. Johnson, of Andover in Henry County, were dying from exposure which the doctors termed "croup."[34] Because of such adverse surroundings many men quickly returned home. By the end of June a Chicago editor noted a change in the direction of the human river of emigrants. He predicted that within thirty days it would be "impossible to tell which way—in or out—the human tide is flowing the fastest." "Hundreds are returning," he observed, "and thousands are going out to return again in due time, and that time is not far off. We have seen dozens of those who have abandoned the diggings."[35]

The last year in which large numbers of men left Illinois for the gold fields was 1860; the great rush was over, but what impression had been left upon the state of Illinois? People had left their homes to settle, many permanently, in the new western territory which became the state of Colorado. Denver received quite a number of these Illinoisans. The Chicago alderman, J. D. Ward, reported that "Chicago has a large representation here, and on almost every street you may meet with great *strings of suckers.*" Furthermore, he related that "candid men who have lived here since last year [1859], tell me they believe there are more persons here from Illinois than from any . . . two other States."[36] This enthusiastic statement, however, is not beyond the shadow of a doubt; perhaps his "candid men" were Illinoisans who, with the ardor of state patriotism, stretched the count a little. Nevertheless, such reports cannot be disregarded altogether because they seem to signify that Illinois was at least well represented in Denver.

[34] *Tribune,* May 29, 1860.
[35] *Tribune,* June 22, 1860.
[36] J. D. Ward to *Tribune,* Denver, May 28, 1860, and printed in *Tribune* of June 9, 1860.

In other parts of the territory Illinois men were also involved in the process of building a new state. William Greene of Chicago was instrumental in developing Canon City at the headwaters of the Arkansas River where the wagon trains passed on their way west.[37] Others named the natural landmarks for their former state, such as Illinois Gulch,[38] while still others worked to get the new territory recognized by Congress in order that a territorial government might be established and their homes protected by law and order.[39] Some of these men never returned home. They remained to develop this new frontier, and as a result the Illinois farm lands lost some of their workers. In spite of this loss the wide prairies were slowly but surely developed. A Champaign (then known as West Urbana) editor declared that the town was slowly growing and more farm land was being "put into cultivation."[40] Other communities experienced similar depletions in their man power, but they continued to grow by dint of harder work.

Another feature of this gold rush was Chicago's attempt to wrest some of the western commerce from St. Louis. This Missouri rival held a secure monopoly of the western trade by reason of her many rail lines and river connections. What Chicago needed to compete with her was an express line, and John Evans suggested this idea to the Board of Trade on January 18, 1860. His plan was to construct an express line, consisting of rail lines, steamboats on the Missouri River, and further transportation (presumably by wagons) along the Platte to the mines. In this manner he reasoned that much trade would be diverted to Chicago because this proposed route would be almost due west from the important Atlantic

[37] Special Correspondent to *Tribune,* Denver City, Apr. 12, 1860, and printed in *Tribune* of Apr. 21, 1860.

[38] Lynn I. Perrigo, ed., "Hawley's Diary of His Trip Across the Plains in 1860," *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Vol. XIX (Mar. 1936), 341.

[39] *Illinois State Journal,* Aug. 22, 1859.

[40] *Gazette,* Nov. 2, 1859.

commercial centers, such as New York.[41] An Omaha editor declared that his city alone paid $200,000 yearly to dealers in St. Louis and Cincinnati, and an express line, which completed the railroad tracks from Chicago to Omaha, would reroute this trade through Chicago.[42]

Various prominent Chicago citizens met on February 14, 1860, with the Board of Trade to discuss this proposed express line. Committees were appointed, and for a time it looked as if a company would soon be formed for this venture, but the movement came to naught. Several months later one of the *Press and Tribune's* correspondents, writing from Denver City, wondered why nothing had materialized in regard to the proposed express line.[43] According to this reporter the people in Denver City needed the transportation as much as Chicago needed the trade.

When the express line failed to develop Chicago lost its opportunity to equal the trade of St. Louis, but found some consolation in manufacturing goods for the new West, for example, quartz mills. These were becoming a necessity for successful mining on a large scale. Using quartz mills the miners could work the year around, while with placer or gulch methods only seven months out of the year were productive.[44] Such firms as P. W. Gates & Company and Higgins & Morey turned their hands to the manufacture of these pulverizing machines. The Gates Company even sent its engineers into the field with these new machines to install and maintain them.[45] Industrialization moved into the gold fields with the mills and forced the lone prospector out of business or into

[41] John Evans' letter of Jan. 18, 1860, concerning his plan for the express line, is printed in *Tribune,* Feb. 10, 1860.

[42] *Omaha Nebraskian,* reprinted in *Tribune,* Feb. 18, 1860. In 1867 a new railroad, the Chicago and North Western, was approaching Omaha. Jay Monaghan, *The Overland Trail* (Indianapolis, 1947), 404.

[43] "Rocky Mountains" to *Tribune,* Denver City, Mar. 22, 1860, printed in *Tribune* of Apr. 5, 1860.

[44] Henry Villard, *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions* (Princeton, 1932), 77. This book is a reprint of the original edition which was published in 1860.

[45] *Tribune,* Apr. 21, 1860.

the employ of mining companies. The entire economy of the gold region was changed through the introduction of the Chicago-manufactured quartz mills.

The net results of the Pikes Peak gold rush upon Illinois are difficult to segregate. Many residents did go to the gold regions, but many of these returned to continue their former pursuits in their home towns. Illinois' population loss no doubt did hurt the state, but surely Iowa and Wisconsin were struck harder. Manufacturing and trade increased for Illinois, especially in Chicago which was rapidly developing into the great commercial center of the Midwest. Railroad lines running through Illinois (Terre Haute, Alton & St. Louis; Illinois Central; Chicago, Alton & St. Louis; Ohio & Mississippi; Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; and the Wabash Valley) prospered and expanded with the added profits. Illinois was the important link between the expanding frontier and the better developed East. The paths to this new West lay through Illinois, and considering the whole picture Illinois surely gained more than she lost in this "Grand March to the West" of 1859-1860.

THE CIVIL WAR COMES TO 'EGYPT'

BY JASPER W. CROSS

JUST as southern Illinois in modern days prides herself on being unlike the remainder of the state, so, in the era of the Civil War, was she different. Possessed of a personal heritage which was at variance with up-state Illinois, located in a geographic situation unlike that of her northern neighbors, with a political and social background which was a contrast to central and northern Illinois, her reaction to the coming of the war might be expected to be significantly different from the reaction of Illinois as a whole.

The inverted triangle which is "Egypt" rests with its peak at Cairo and its base running from Chester to Carmi. Included in this area in 1860 were sixteen counties, predominantly rural, populated by Southerners by birth or extraction, and overwhelmingly Democratic in their political sentiments. Although slavery could not exist legally in Illinois, evidence indicates that the institution existed openly or secretly in southern Illinois for much of the first half of the nineteenth century. Certainly, it had the approval of many southern Illinoisans, as shown by the efforts of representatives of the region to legalize slavery, their activity in enacting the Black Code of 1818,

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and the unsuccessful attempt in 1823-1824 to secure the calling of a constitutional convention to legitimatize slavery.

The Southern background and the proslavery sentiments of the area combined to make Egypt a political stronghold of the Democratic Party. It was under the influence of Stephen A. Douglas, leader of Illinois Democracy, and supported the "Little Giant" faithfully for the Democratic nomination at the 1856 and 1860 conventions and returned him a plurality over his three opponents in every county save one in the 1860 election. Similarly, in congressional elections, southern Illinois' Ninth (later Thirteenth) District placed its faith in Democrats, electing, in 1858, John A. Logan, and, in 1860, re-electing him by an overwhelming majority. County and local offices followed this general pattern as Douglas and Logan led the Democrats of Egypt through the late 1850's.

Economically, southern Illinois faced two ways. By virtue of its position between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, its commerce was with both North and South. Cairo was still an important way station for water-borne traffic, although railroad building was draining away much of its earlier prestige. Trade, however, still flowed both ways through Egypt and the economic loyalties of the population were divided.

With this brief background, it is not difficult to foresee the reaction of southern Illinois to the outbreak of the war. With hostilities imminent, meetings, which were held in several towns, produced resolutions highly critical of the anticipated Lincoln policy toward the South, declaring the South to be the aggrieved party, opposing the expected use of troops against the South, and declaring it to be the duty of Egypt to leave the Union if such action were taken.[1] Whether these resolutions were drawn up by the Democrats to embarrass

[1] *Carbondale Times,* Apr. 27, 1861, quoted in full in *Chicago Tribune,* Apr. 30, 1861, for an account of the Carbondale meeting. The Marion meeting and its resolutions are in Milo Erwin, *The History of Williamson County, Illinois* (Marion, 1876), 258, also in *Marion Intelligencer,* Apr. 18, 1861, reprinted in *Chicago Tribune,* Apr. 25, 1861.

the Republican administrations of Lincoln and Illinois' Governor Richard Yates, drafted with a hope of keeping Illinois influenced toward neutrality in the coming conflict, or whether they represented a strongly pro-Southern sentiment in southern Illinois cannot be determined and a case for each of the three views can be developed.

The authorship of these highly critical resolutions has never been fixed. Probably most of them were joint efforts by assembled Democratic leaders. In one case, however, the Williamson County resolutions emanating from Marion, an attempt has been made to place credit with William Joshua "Josh" Allen, a former law partner of John A. Logan, later to succeed him in the House of Representatives (1861-1865) and to become one of the small but vociferous "Copperhead" group. No proof exists of Allen's responsibility, although he would undoubtedly have subscribed to the sentiments therein.

Along with these more or less formal expressions of sentiment in Egypt were many informal indications of lack of sympathy with the administration and with the war. Newspapers expressed their sympathy with the rebels and their joy over the fall of Fort Sumter, United States flags were torn down, Jefferson Davis was cheered and Abraham Lincoln reviled, and many other petty incidents were recorded by the press. These events, while they undoubtedly occurred, were possibly only isolated acts of irresponsible individuals. Certainly, they were magnified by the Republican press, notably the *Chicago Tribune,* which never failed to point out evidences of "Democratic disloyalty" in southern Illinois.[2]

As supporting evidence of the indications of disloyalty mentioned, one might adduce the letters of "loyal" people in southern Illinois to their Northern correspondents. The letter files of such pro-Union leaders as Governor Yates and Senator Lyman Trumbull contain correspondence from southern Illi-

[2] Instances of the type mentioned may best be found in the *Chicago Tribune,* Apr.-Aug., 1861, reprinting, in most cases, southern Illinois newspapers.

noisans eager to point out their own loyalty and denounce the disloyalty of many of their fellows.[3] However, the political angle must again be noted. Most correspondents of Yates and Trumbull might logically be Republicans, who would not be averse to boosting their own qualifications at the expense of their Democratic neighbors.

Also of interest is the position of the figure most notably identified with Egyptian politics—Congressman (later General) John Alexander Logan. Since Logan's election and reelection had been so easily accomplished, it might be presumed that he reflected the views of his constituents rather faithfully. Logan's later career as a Civil War leader, as a Radical Republican, and as a vice-presidential candidate is well known. Less popularized has been his pre-Civil War activity as a stanch Douglas Democrat and opponent of the Lincoln policies. No small part of the "mystery" of Logan's maneuvering in late 1860 and early 1861 has been due to the unavailability and probable censoring of the Logan papers.

Through February, 1861, there is no confusion in Logan's thought. A thorough-going Democrat, he condemned all of the Republican doctrines and candidates and clung to the extreme Southern view that slavery could be carried into all territories of the United States. Lincoln he regarded as "a strictly sectional candidate" and he feared "the happiness and prosperity [of the country] . . . is about to be buried in the infamous grave dug by the hand of sectional fanaticism."[4] This same note runs through a Logan speech in Congress on February 5, 1861, but with the blame for the existing strained situation divided between abolition extremists and radical extremists of the South, to whom he denied explicitly the right of secession. However, he decried the use of any force against the South and felt compromise efforts had not yet been ex-

[3] For examples, see Richard Yates MSS, Illinois State Historical Library and Lyman Trumbull MSS, Library of Congress. (Copies of the latter are in the Illinois State Historical Library.)

[4] Logan to Judge J. A. Haynie, Dec. 31, 1860, quoted in *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], Feb. 15, 1861.

hausted.[5] The line of this speech is quite similar to that of the Peace Democrats of later years.

This was Logan's only speech between the election and the opening of the war, and no personal record remains to show his thoughts in that period. One bit of information on Logan's position may be found in a letter of Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *Illinois State Register,* of Springfield, virtually the official Democratic newspaper of downstate Illinois. Lanphier declared Logan's attitude was well known and so dangerous to Illinois' support of the war that he (Lanphier) urged Senator Douglas to come to Springfield where Logan was attempting to influence the special session of the Legislature against war support. Douglas, who had declared his support of the administration and of the war, managed to swing Democracy to his position despite accusations by Logan of "selling out" the party. After his failure at Springfield, Logan returned to Egypt, said Lanphier, and endeavored unsuccessfully to prevent the organization of a regiment in that area. Only after he found the current swinging against him did he reverse his course to go with the tide, become an administration man, raise a regiment, and denounce his former associates.[6]

Unfortunately, Lanphier's letter must be discounted somewhat. While no date appears on it, internal evidence shows it to have been written after the war and at a time when Logan was up for re-election to the United States Senate, probably 1877. Since Logan was, by then, bitterly anti-Democratic in his sentiments, it seems possible that Lanphier may have been moved by a desire to discredit Logan. Logan himself declared he had been in "substantial accord" with Douglas and the administration from the first.[7] However, since this declaration did not come until 1886, after Logan had been a Republican for twenty-five years, it, too, may be discounted.

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[5] *Congressional Globe,* 36th Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, 178-81.

[6] Charles H. Lanphier to "a gentleman in Washington," no date, copy in Lanphier MSS, Illinois State Historical Library.

[7] John A. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy: Its Origin and History* (New York, 1886), 270.

By early summer Logan's mind was made up, and on June 18, 1861, he wrote the *Illinois State Register,* denying any implication in a southern Illinois secessionist movement.[8] The following day came his passionate defense of the Union before Ulysses S. Grant's troops at Camp Yates, Springfield. Grant declared his reluctance to let Logan speak to men whose formal muster into service was not yet accomplished, fearing, from Logan's reputation, he might influence them not to accept service. However, said Grant, Logan's speech "breathed a loyalty and devotion to the Union."[9]

Shortly following this, Logan resigned from Congress and returned to southern Illinois to raise a regiment for the Union cause and begin his rise to military renown.

One more of the disloyalty episodes of southern Illinois history was to involve Congressman Logan before his entrance into the administration fold. This occurrence is the only well-agreed-upon instance of an organized group leaving Egypt to fight for the Confederacy. While minor details are subject to some disagreement, accounts concur that a group of at least thirty men was recruited by one Thorndike Brooks in Williamson County. After a rendezvous south of Marion, they proceeded on foot toward Paducah, crossed the Ohio River at Mayfield, Kentucky, and joined Company G of the One Hundred and Fifteenth Tennessee Volunteers.[10]

While agreement is general that Brooks was the organizer of the company, a variance exists as to the persons responsible for stirring up feeling for such an organization. Commonly listed were local political leaders A. P. Corder, John M. Clemerson, James D. Pully, W. J. Allen, and Logan.[11]

Logan denied explicitly any part in the formation or inspiration of the company and declared he had never encour-

[8] *Illinois State Register,* June 21, 1861.

[9] Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1885), 1: 246.

[10] The best summary is in Erwin, *History of Williamson County,* 265-67.

[11] For examples, see D. M. Kelley to D. L. Phillips, June 1, 1861, and Griffin Garland to Yates, May 29, 1861, both Yates MSS; H. H. Cater to Col. W. H. L. Wallace, June 8, 1861, Wallace-Dickey MSS, Illinois State Historical Library.

aged anyone to "go South."[12] Two members of the company also later denied that Logan had any part in encouraging them or anyone else to join the company.[13] However, the value of these corroborations must be slightly minimized since they first appear in print in a Logan campaign biography and since one of the defenders, Hibert B. Cunningham, was Logan's brother-in-law. However, it is possible Logan's denial is valid, since Milo Erwin's *The History of Williamson County,* usually reliable, specifically exempts both Logan and Allen from any activity in promoting the Brooks company.

Still another charge laid frequently at the door of southern Illinois was that of being overrun with the allegedly seditious Knights of the Golden Circle. This secret organization, about which little of an exact nature is known, was said to be highly active in the downstate counties. While no thorough "exposé" appeared until the *Chicago Tribune's* lengthy attack of August 26, 1862, shorter items had reported individual cases of membership and organized councils in Union, Williamson, Franklin, Hamilton, and other counties and a possible downstate membership of 10,000. These groups opposed the war, and were presumably in communication with and gave aid to the Confederacy. Again, a note of caution in accepting these reports must be interjected. The descriptions of the K. G. C. activity came only in the Republican press and the correspondence of Republican leaders,[14] hence the possibility of political motivation must again be considered.

From these "evidences" of disloyalty, which were magnified by the Republican press and politicians of northern Illinois into a general condition rampant throughout the lower end of the state, let us now look at the other side of the ledger.

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[12] Logan to D. L. Phillips, Oct. 20, 1864, printed in *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 25, 1864.

[13] H. B. Cunningham to John A. Logan, Oct. 15, 1866, and A. H. Morgan to Logan, Oct. 16, 1866, Logan MSS, Library of Congress.

[14] As examples, see *Illinois State Journal,* June 16, Aug. 17, Dec. 7, 1861; *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 10, Nov. 12, 1861; also G. Garland to Richard Yates, Apr. 23, 1861, and P. Pease to Yates, Nov. 2, 1861, both Yates MSS.

From what has gone before, one might expect to find no loyal activity in Egypt. This expectation would be far from accurate. Only one look at the most important aspect of wartime loyalty is necessary.

Participation by southern Illinoisans in the armed services was, at the outset of the war, excellent. The initial response to the creation by the Illinois legislature on May 2, 1861, of ten infantry regiments was highly creditable. On May 16, the Eighteenth Illinois Volunteer Infantry rendezvoused at Anna and was mobilized May 28, under command of Colonel Michael K. Lawler, a vigorous Irishman with some Mexican War experience. The customary method of recruiting was used, that of individuals gathering volunteers to about the number of one hundred and offering this company to the regimental commander, usually reserving the captaincies for themselves. The eight companies of the Eighteenth were nearly all from Egypt, while two companies of the Ninth, one of the Tenth, and two of the Twenty-second were nearly all Egyptians.[15] This early and enthusiastic response to the call for troops surprised and delighted the northern Illinois press.

In May, June, and July, 1861, Secretary of War Cameron authorized additional regiments to be raised in Illinois, but only five companies were made up largely of southern Illinoisans, since no commanders were from the area. After Bull Run, however, Cameron approved additional troops from Illinois, and two more infantry regiments—the Twenty-ninth, under Colonel James S. Reardon, and the Thirty-first, under Colonel John A. Logan—and one cavalry regiment, the Sixth, under Colonel Thomas H. Cavanaugh, were raised almost entirely in Egypt. As usual, companies in other regiments came from southern Illinois. Two more regiments—the Fifty-Sixth (Colonel Robert Kirkham) and the Sixtieth (Colonel Silas C. Toler)—were raised in southern Illinois in the fall of 1861,

[15] *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois, 1861-1862* (Springfield, 1863), 17-18, 20, 64-65.

and the year 1862 saw additions to this list of regiments.[16]

All of this, however, is mere statistical data unless it is related to other information. On August 23, 1862, the Adjutant General of Illinois ordered an enrollment made of all males between the ages of 18 and 45. In southern Illinois, a total of 30,346 men were in this age group. Of these, nearly forty per cent, 12,206, were already in service in the Union Army. Hamilton County, where disloyalty had been prevalent according to the rumors of the day, led the state in this percentage with 48.3. Franklin County, with 46.6 per cent, ranked fourth in the state, and Williamson County, already mentioned repeatedly and unfavorably by Northern critics, had 46.1 per cent of her enrolled men already in uniform.[17] Clearly, southern Illinois furnished her quota and more in the first twenty months of the war.

When one compares this record with that of the state as a whole, it is seen that Egypt had done easily more than her share thus far. In the remainder of the state, 102,917 men, or approximately 28 per cent of the age group mentioned, had entered service.[18] It should be noted, too, that these men were volunteers, presumably entering armed service willingly and out of patriotic motives, which had not generally been attributed to southern Illinois.

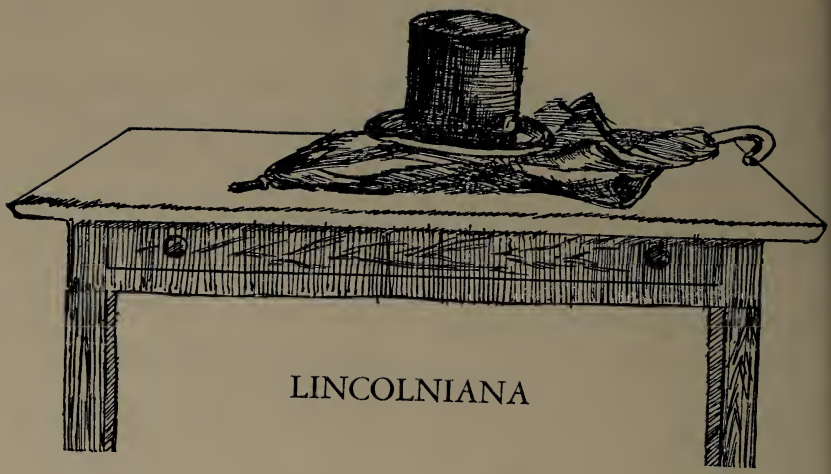
This response of southern Illinois to the actual need that was most important—men for the army—is the best yardstick for measuring her patriotism. It was the volunteer soldier who fought the Civil War and it was he who risked most for the Union. To be sure, if he were from Egypt, he had not elected the Republican administration of Abraham Lincoln which directed the war, he had not approved its theories or its policies as he understood them, he had not wanted to invade the South where his antecedents lay. Yet, once he became convinced the

[16] *Adjutant General's Report, 1861-1862,* pp. 23-25, 65-68, 70-75, 138-42, 242, 254, 298, 300, 320, 334, 340, 374.
[17] *Adjutant General's Report, 1861-1862,* pp. 78-80.
[18] *Ibid.*

war was to save the Union—and the conviction must have come rather rapidly—his reaction was prompt and overwhelming. When the real struggle came, Egypt's lack of verbal enthusiasm for the war was exceeded by her military enthusiasm.

What, then, was southern Illinois' position on the war? Since most of her population was Southern in origin, it naturally was not interested in a crusade to exterminate slavery nor in an apparently offensive war against the South. With her economic interests divided North and South, pocketbooks would logically dictate a desire to remain in commercial contact with both areas. Had she desired to disrupt Illinois and join the Confederacy, she would undoubtedly have faced great difficulty and been coerced into line. Equally certain, however, she could have caused the Union no little difficulty. An area, overwhelmingly and actively Confederate, situated astride the Illinois Central Railroad and controlling the Ohio-Mississippi rivers junction area, would have required a large force to occupy it and a tremendous police garrison to keep it from harassing the Union rear in the river campaigns. Further, southern Illinois was not remote from areas sympathetic to the Southern cause. A unified pro-Confederate southern Illinois, southeast Missiouri, and western Kentucky was not impossible to conceive.

Why, in view of the evidence offered, was southern Illinois loyal? Actually, as has been suggested, much of the "evidence" is invalid. Partisan politics, personal ambitions and jealousies, unfounded rumors all had their part in building up the "disloyal Egypt" myth. To the Union she had been and was loyal. Deploring efforts North and South, abolitionist and "fire-eater," to break up the Union, she finally came to the conclusion that the Confederacy constituted a real threat to the Union and steered her course accordingly. A minority of individuals continued to be Confederate in their sympathies and activities and criticism of individual governmental policies flourished throughout the war, but Egypt as a whole had decided to help preserve the Union.



LINCOLNIANA

THE PROBLEM OF THE WELCOMING SPEECH

The manuscript of a speech or letter in the handwriting of Milton Hay welcoming Lincoln back to Springfield after his Cooper Union address in New York was recently given to the Illinois State Historical Library.

Milton Hay was the first student to read law in the Lincoln office and was one of the early leaders of the Republican Party in Springfield. He was an uncle of John Hay, who later became Lincoln's private secretary and biographer. He was also the father-in-law of Mrs. Logan Hay, of Springfield, who gave this manuscript to the Library.

It would be logical that Milton Hay should have been selected to make a welcoming speech, but Lincoln scholars do not seem to have any record of where or when it was delivered.

Lincoln's famous Cooper Union speech was on February 27, 1860, and he spent the next two weeks in New England making a number of talks and visiting his son Robert Todd, who was attending school at Exeter, New Hampshire. He returned to Springfield on March 14, remained a week, and then went to Chicago for a trial that lasted two weeks. Thus it would seem that Milton Hay's welcoming must have been delivered between March 14 and 22. Here is the text of the speech (or was it a letter?):

MR LINCOLN

The Republican Club of Springfield have made us, their organ to welcome your return to this City.

We should hardly fulfil the object of this demonstration were we simply to express this welcome and nothing more. Great public events, now shortly to transpire and with which your name has become connected render it appropriate that your immediate neighbors and fellow Citizens should seize upon such an occasion to publicly express their appre-

ciation of you as a man, a Citizen and a Statesman.

No inconsiderable portion of your fellow Citizens in various portions of the Country have expressed their preference for you as the Candidate of the Republican party for the next Presidency. In a Nation of so many millions of freemen with such scores of able and distinguished men to lead them, it is high honour for any man to have attained to the position of being the favorite of so large a body of its constituency for this high office, whether such be the preference of the majority or not; but high as the honour is, your immediate fellow Citizens, those who have known you longest and known you best, know that it is not higher than your merits. They know that the Chief Magistracy of the Nation cannot be conferred upon a worthier man.

Sir, your fellow Citizens of this City with whom you have been more directly associated for the last twenty years of your life, are proud to testify to those merits, with which this long and intimate acquaintance, has made them familiar. Elsewhere you may be known and appreciated as the clear headed and able Statesman; here we recognize in addition to this, the estimable man,—the good Citizen of stedfast integrity, of incorruptible honesty, the self sacrificing patriot, sympathizing in sentiment with the great Clay, "that it, is better to be right than to be President."

There are those around you sir who have watched with manly interest and pride your upward march from obscurity to distinction. There are those here who know something of the obstacles which have lain in your pathway. Our history is prolific in examples of what may be achieved by ability, persevereance [*sic*] and integrity, under our institutions, unaided by those accessories of friends fortune and education elsewhere deemed essential to success; but in the long list of those who have thus from humblest beginnings won their way worthily to proud distinction there is not one can take precedence of the name of Abraham Lincoln.

We are proud, sir, to have been of the earliest of those who recognized and appreciated such merit.

When in 1854 sectional strife and controversy were invited into the councils of the nation, the traditions

MILTON HAY

This photograph is from a painting made by Eastman Johnson about 1893.

and policy of sixty years scouted, and a time honoured compromise broken down, then it was that a betrayed people began to see in you eloquent denunciations of that wanton act, and in your able vindication of the principles and policy thereby infracted more high qualities and that true statesmanship which demonstrated their possessor to be well worthy of the highest offices and honour within their gift — well worthy the Presidency itself. We feel well assured that we shall look in vain amongst all the high names of the Republic for the man combining in himself, in his record, and in his history more of those elements which fit the man for the time, the occasion and the place than yourself.

But, sir, we are here more particularly to thank and congratulate you upon your late able exposition of Republican principles in the City of New York. There is not an utterance of that great speech to which we do not heartily subscribe and respond. You have truthfully declared for us, that we are not the innovation, nor the agitation, that we seek simply to maintain the old, the established policy of the Nation, the policy of the fathers of the Constitution, and that if there are those who seek to break down, or who have broken down that policy they are the innovation and agitation and must be held responsible for the consequences.

And more particularly do we thank you for the explicit declaration of our principles of adhereance [*sic*] to the Constitution as it is written—of our determination to respect and abide by all its compromises and provisions —that where it recognizes Slavery as lawfully existing there we likewise recognize it—that where it provides guarantees for its safety and protection there we will maintain and fulfil. We rejoice, sir, that that [*sic*] from the commercial metropolis of the nation, to the listening ears of the whole people of this Country, you have so well and so successfully defined the true policy, principles and mission of our party. We agree, sir, with you that although the belief that Slavery is an evil, lies necessarily at the foundation of our creed, yet that we are not an abolition party—that we disclaim the right to interfere with Slavery in the States—that we will respect the guarantees of the Constitution in regard to the rights of the Slave States and of Slave owners. We agree with you in affirming those broad and just views of national policy which whilst they fully recognize the equal rights of all the states and of all sections of the confederacy, still maintain and uphold the cardinal policy with reference to Slavery in the Territories with which the founders of the Republic and the Constitution set out, and to which they and their patriotic successors so faithfully adhered.

In conclussion [*sic*] permit us to say that we feel well assured that whatever may be the position your friends or your Country may assign you in the future, you will be found as you have been heretofore, ably and faithfully maintaining the rights of the people, the true policy of the Country and just views of the Constitution, and acting well your part and duties under it.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Letters of Robert G. Ingersoll. Edited with a Biographical Introduction by Eva Ingersoll Wakefield. (Philosophical Library: New York, 1951. Pp. 747. $7.50.)

Ingersoll was one of the finest of letter writers, and fortunately many of his letters have been preserved. The Illinois State Historical Library has several thousand of his letters and a like number written to him.

Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-1899), was well known for forty years as a soldier (Colonel, Eleventh Illinois Cavalry), lawyer, attorney general of Illinois (1867-1869), orator, and agnostic. He came to Greenville, Illinois, in 1851 with his preacher father, then in turn lived for brief periods in Mt. Vernon, Metropolis, Marion, and Shawneetown. In law-partnership with his brother Ebon he distinguished himself as an attorney in Peoria, 1857-1869.

In letters to Ebon and to his elder brother John, for fifty years a physician near Waukesha, Wisconsin, Ingersoll expressed his devotion to them. Other letters show his deep contentment and happiness derived from the "companionship of his family—from the serene, sweet presence of his wife, and the spontaneous, merry laughter of his children and grandchildren."

His creed in life as expressed often in his letters:

1. Happiness is the only good.
2. The way to be happy is to make others so.
3. The time to be happy is now.
4. Help for the living. Hope for the dead.

Shakespeare was his Bible and Burns his hymnal, and thorough was his love and understanding of Walt Whitman. What he said of Whitman was true of himself: "I think he has made us a little more human—added something to the manhood and charity of the race." Mentally an optimist,

Ingersoll cherished the fond belief that, "on the whole, the race is advancing; that the world is growing steadily and surely better."

His appreciation and understanding of the arts was best expressed in his letters on music and the theater where his friendships were many and deep.

Ingersoll counted his friends in the thousands—he liked people—and Eva Ingersoll Wakefield, his granddaughter, has grouped the letters by subjects and personages. The catholicity of his acquaintance and interests is shown by his letters on capital and labor, drama, art and architecture, prohibition, birth control, vegetarianism, children, and kindness to animals, racial intolerance, and world unity.

Mrs. Wakefield has done well her task of making known to the reader the biographical details of Ingersoll's life and of his correspondents necessary to a full enjoyment of the letters. In addition to the hundred-page biographical sketch opening the book, and further details brought out in the letters to his brothers, each new section contains a stage-setting introduction. The index would be more usable if sub-headings had been added.

H. E. P.

The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840. By R. Carlyle Buley. (Indiana Historical Society: Indianapolis, 1950. Two volumes, Pp. xiii, 632; viii, 686. $12.)

The author makes plain his approach and his objectives in a preface which, with undue modesty, describes this book as an "outline" or "segment" of the Old Northwest from the beginning of the Great Migration in 1815 to the close of the pioneer era about 1840. He writes that he hoped to present a balanced summary of the record without emphasizing the interesting and dramatic at the expense of the prosaic but important, to introduce the reader to the rich contemporary literature that was so abundant, and to capture something of the "attitudes and beliefs, struggles and way of life" of the time and place. This, indeed, was no small obligation. Yet it has been discharged with fidelity.

The central theme of these volumes is the people, the rank and file who moved purposefully from settled areas into the green woodlands and wide prairies of the back-of-beyond, who floated down western rivers, who hammered up jerry-built cabins as first homes and hewed away the forest and corn-seeded the earth. Buley's study is built around the people and their activities and institutions. That is why chapters devoted to social and cultural development outnumber those given over to politics and economics.

This does not mean, however, that attention to vote-getting and trade and commerce is either slighted or ignored. Both the political framework

and the economic structure of the Old Northwest are given adequate emphasis. The political background, as it develops throughout the two volumes, concerns the emergence of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan from colonial status to statehood, with territorial politics in Wisconsin, and with party strife in Ohio. All these are shown in their relationship with the federal government, and the interplay between territory or state and the central government is at times detailed and elaborate.

Realizing that land was an important factor in the rise of the region, the author quite properly begins his analysis of economic forces with a most careful account of the public domain from the Ordinance of 1785, through the Harrison Land Act of 1800, and the land law of 1820, to the status of land sales in Wisconsin in 1840. Equal attention is paid the settler and speculator into whose eager hands the land went. The story moves naturally then to discussions of trade, travel, transportation, and money and finance. The author describes the variety of carriers—boats, wagons, railroads—that tied East and West together commercially, makes clear the significance of salt, coal, and iron, and carefully judges the commercial and mercantile value of cities such as Cincinnati and Detroit. So exhaustive is this section that attention is even paid to the traveling peddler and the manufacturer of harps!

Once Buley has completed the political and economic foundations, he turns to the whole sweeping panorama of human living, the intimate daily round of life that kept hunter and soil-breaker and town-builder occupied. It would be impossible to enumerate the many items that are close-packed in chapters devoted to the material and cultural aspects of pioneer life and to a lengthy review of frontier diseases and remedies. The long rifle and primitive plow, the razorback hog and squawking chicken, the play-party and spelling-bee—all these and more are described in detail. Nor are western sports, speech, character, and manners forgotten.

One of the three chapters devoted to cultural activities gives attention to literature, science, and reform. The frontier newspaper, editor, and printer receive extended treatment. Then comes a parade of regional periodicals, including the *Western Ladies Casket* and Timothy Flint's *Western Monthly Review,* which is characterized as the "first monthly magazine of importance in the Northwest." Writers and artists are listed together with their works. The early days of scientific research and the labor of nineteenth-century pioneers in such fields as botany, geology, and zoology are evaluated with care. Buley concludes by demonstrating the importance of the reform groups and the communitarian experiments that sought unsuccessfully to fashion the West into a utopian community.

It must be said that lengthy quotations and detail piled upon specific

detail sometimes impede the narrative. But this reviewer would not have it otherwise. The author frankly stated that he was going to make full use of contemporary literature and he has proved that it was as abundant and as rich as he promised.

Buley's *Old Northwest* is beautifully printed and bound, carries a fascinating selection of contemporary illustrations, prints, and cartoons, and is buttressed with such a comprehensive index that there is no difficulty in locating the most minor item. But above all this, it is an honest and a superior piece of craftsmanship. All who had a hand in its making, not forgetting the Indiana Historical Society as publisher and the Lilly Endowment, Incorporated, as sponsor, deserve praise—not the extravagant laudation common to jacket blurbs, but restrained admiration that springs from genuine appreciation for a major contribution to American historiography.

University of Minnesota. PHILIP D. JORDAN.

Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln. By J. G. Randall. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1951. Pp. 596. $4.50.)

This is a revised edition of an important work in the Lincoln field first published in 1926. Written originally after fifteen years' study of the sources, it has been corrected, revised, and slightly enlarged, from the fruit of twenty-five more years of study. The "Foreword to the Revised Edition" is an excellent essay on Lincoln's use and understanding of the presidential powers in time of war. One aspect of the recent controversy between President Truman and General MacArthur had its historical counterpart in Lincoln's day. Dr. Randall states the constitutional point at issue as follows:

> Lincoln was not in uniform. He was not in the armed services, 1861-65. He was, nevertheless, Commander-in-Chief. One should not be misled by this title. A word may have more than one meaning. The army was under military "command," but under civilian direction. The military arm was the *instrument* of the government. To suppose the opposite—that the government should be the football or creature of the army—would be a complete negation of the American democratic concept.

The original eighteen-page annotated bibliography has been supplemented to thirty-two pages. Added to the attractive format and especially readable type there is an exceptionally good index.

The original edition was reviewed by Carl R. Fish in the *American Historical Review,* January, 1928; and by Arthur C. Cole in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* March, 1928. Cole says:

> This volume is a careful, painstaking study of the constitutional development during four strenuous years when the nation was facing the greatest

crisis in its history. It is an effort to appraise the strain upon regular constitutional limitations produced by the exigencies of wartime, when the undefined war powers under the Constitution had to be translated from vague generalities into concrete rights and obligations.

Fish notes that:

The Constitution and its law are treated as part of the life of the times, with an attempt to assess their weight as compared with political, social, and economic factors. . . . Four chapters deal with civil war and treason, three with the problem of the *habeas corpus,* one with indemnity of federal officers, one with martial law in the South, one with conscription, three with confiscation, two with emancipation, one with state and federal relations, one with West Virginia, and one with the press. . . . He has not only familiarized himself with all the recognized legal sources and authorities, but has pressed his researches into those types of legal records which are not printed, and has pushed back his controversies to the prenatal influence of Cabinet discussion, diary, and correspondence.

Professor Cole continues:

As to the larger conclusions of such a study, the author properly points out that the wartime expansion of authority was largely in the executive field. Indeed, he "feels that the arbitrary arrests were unfortunate, that Lincoln's conception of the executive power was too expansive, and that a clearer distinction between military and civil control would have been desirable." Yet he admits that "in the actual use of the war powers, great circumspection and leniency were manifested by President Lincoln's administration, and the Government showed a wholesome regard for individual liberty."

H. E. P.

Lincoln and the Press. By Robert S. Harper. (McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, 1951. Pp. 418. $6.00.)

Newspapers during the Civil War abused President Lincoln and shamefully criticized his acts and utterances. Likewise they were sparing of neither the government nor the army. Military secrets were revealed, copperheadism advocated, recruiting and conscription denounced. Yet Lincoln did not forget that "government through law is one of the fundamental American values." The problem, as Robert Harper states it, was whether the press should remain free when the safety of the nation was at stake.

Newspaper editors were whisked away to prison, mobs destroyed their presses and burned their offices. Who committed these acts, and where, when, why, and how, is Harper's story. He piles it all in, paper by paper, state by state, with no attempt to summarize, generalize, or draw conclusions. The result is a good source book, well indexed for ready reference, but not one for cover-to-cover reading. Illinoisans will regret that only one-

fifth of the book treats Lincoln's Illinois years. The reader will miss Lincoln as New Salem agent of the *Sangamo Journal;* the details of the "Sampson Ghost" letters in 1837; his editorship of the 1840 campaign paper, *The Old Soldier*; his marshaling of newspapers in his 1846 campaign for Congress; his assistance to John E. Rosette in founding the *Springfield Republican* in 1857; and close contacts in the 1850's with Chicago editors Charles L. Wilson of the *Journal,* Charles H. Ray of the *Tribune,* and John Wentworth of the *Democrat.*

Harper was a newspaperman for twenty-seven years—most of the time on the *Ohio State Journal* [Columbus]—and shows more acquaintance with histories of newspapers than with Lincoln publications. The Robert T. Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln is the only manuscript source mentioned, and Beveridge's life of Lincoln is relied upon too heavily in the early chapters. However, the footnotes are excellent and the author quotes from more than 250 newspapers. H. E. P.

A Rail Splitter for President. By Wayne C. Williams. (The University of Denver Press: Denver, 1951. Pp. 242. $3.00.)

Lincoln's first presidential campaign is described in this book through interesting excerpts from editorials, speeches, and accounts of political rallies, taken principally from 1860 newspapers. Strung together with little continuity, the excerpts do not readily give the reader the unfolding story of the campaign. Comparison of campaign tactics and of journalism in 1860 with the present day is repetitious, and replete with clichés. The chapter "Greeley and His Pen," however, is a well-knit bright spot of the book.

The excerpts, for the most part, are well chosen, but a sample check shows great laxity in transcription. The spelling of names of persons and towns is too often inaccurate: Breckenridge for Breckinridge; Litton for Sutton; Case for Cass; Jones for Jonas; and Saint Petersburg for Petersburg, Illinois. The Chicago convention that nominated Lincoln began on Wednesday, May 16, and closed on Friday, May 18, with Lincoln being notified on the following day. The author repeatedly transposes the events of these four days.

Lincoln did not correct William Dean Howells' campaign biography before it was published, but made some marginal corrections on the copy of the book sent to him by Samuel Parks of Lincoln, Illinois. It is regrettable that a university press did not insist upon accepted usage in footnotes, bibliographical citations, and the inclusion of an index. Unfamiliarity of the proofreader with the Lincoln story probably accounts for a generous portion of the too numerous errors. H. E. P.

A Pioneer in Northwest America, 1841-1858: The Memoirs of Gustaf Unonius. Vol. I. Translated by Jonas Oscar Backlund. Edited by Nils William Olsson. (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1950. $6.00.)

Gustaf Unonius and his little party from Gävle, Sweden, had bought tickets to Chicago. But they left ship at Milwaukee, weary by then of four and a half months on ocean, Erie Canal, and the Great Lakes, and curious about Wisconsin. They built a log cabin twenty-seven miles west on Pine Lake, and this first of two volumes takes them no farther. This is the tale of how an educated Swede met the frontier.

Unonius' good will and good judgment appear in his injunctions to Europeans to judge the common people of America in comparison with the common people, not the aristocrats, of Europe. They appear, too, in his appreciation of the inventive skills and the neighborly virtues of the pioneers, along with condemnation of their dirtiness, their restlessness, and their treatment of the Indian.

On the mercenary character attributed to Americans the author admitted that: "They want to make money; but so do the Swedes and Europeans in general. The only difference is that the Americans seem to know better how to do it." Later he noted that Americans like to make their dollars, "but often they take as much pleasure in giving them away as in earning them."

Unonius made some caustic observations on fellow-passengers and fellow-settlers. The German he thought strange with his loads of old-country equipment, but he remarked that within six to eight years the German "will be an active and useful citizen, whereas the Englishman over there in the corner never will be anything but a stranger in a strange land." The writer appreciated from the beginning, though he was amazed at it, the frank equality of the frontier, and he admired the will and the skill of the native.

He became friendly enough with an Indian chief to hunt with him and his warriors. More important, he helped many a Swede get a start in the new world, and his letters home persuaded several to migrate.

Unonius was religious by nature, but he had no sympathy for the taboos which made it impossible on Sunday for him to buy even a cup of milk. He fulminated against "Puritanism—that worm-eaten, creeping growth which, winding itself under the sunny vaults of Christendom, has sought to crowd out the altar and change the sanctuary into a gloomy prison."

The book is of immense value for the experiences and the attitudes of a well-educated frontiersman. Most of it is Unonius' own story, though occasionally an incident leads him on into long quotations or paraphrases, particularly descriptions of Indian life taken from Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information* (6 vols., Philadelphia, 1851-1856).

The translation is faithful to the original in spirit as well as in letter. It is, therefore, stamped by a reminiscent slowness of pace, illuminated occasionally by passages of descriptive power. Unonius wrote the book in his later years from a combination of memory, diary, notes, and letters, and his own peculiar blend of tenses is here preserved. Helpful identifying and bibliographical notes have been provided by the editor.

The Swedish Pioneer Historical Society, in sponsoring this book, has made an auspicious debut, and the next volume will be awaited eagerly.

Northwestern University. FRANKLIN D. SCOTT.

Journals of the General Assembly of Indiana Territory 1805-1815 (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. XXXII). Edited by Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy Riker. (Indiana Historical Bureau: Indianapolis, 1950. Pp. 1,106.)

The publication of the *Journals of the General Assembly of Indiana Territory 1805-1815* represents a significant addition to the rapidly growing collection of printed sources covering the history of the old Northwest. In this sense, it can be said to complement very nicely the earlier work of editors such as Theodore C. Pease, Francis S. Philbrick, Logan Esarey, Louis B. Ewbank, and Dorothy L. Riker, as well as the currently appearing volumes in the *Territorial Papers of the United States* series under the editorship of Clarence E. Carter.

The *Journals* constitute a robust volume of more than a thousand pages and cover the activities of a total of thirteen sessions of five General Assemblies meeting from the time Indiana Territory advanced to the second stage of territorial government in 1805 until the House of Representatives adjourned *sine die* on December 26, 1815, with statehood for Indiana looming large on the near horizon. In spite of some interesting historical detective work the record is not complete, since the Journals for the sessions of 1806, 1807, and 1810 are missing. The editors have very capably bridged the gap by inserting available documents which cast light upon the principal business transacted during these years. In addition, two appendices have been included, one, the "Treasurer's Account Books, 1805-1813," and the other, a more useful "Roster and Sketches of Members of the Territorial General Assembly."

There is always a strong temptation to read into a series of newly published documents the widely accepted and time-honored conclusions which have become associated with a well established field of study; nevertheless, it seems to this reviewer that there are several readily recognizable threads running through the *Journals* which illustrate certain of the scholarly ob-

servations made concerning the history of the West. These examples stand out: the gradual adaptation of government and its administration to that particular circumstance which has come to be described as the frontier experience, and the frequent clashes of the popular will with that of the governor of the territory. Perhaps the noblest theme of all is what Professor John D. Barnhart in his thoughtful introduction calls "the democratization of the [Northwest] Ordinance," which he believes "deserves a place in history alongside its enactment and the institution of government according to its provisions." With this conclusion most students of the history of the Old Northwest will certainly agree.

University of Illinois. ROBERT M. SUTTON.

A Guide to the Microfilm Collection of Early State Records. Prepared by the Library of Congress in association with the University of North Carolina. Collected and compiled under the direction of William Sumner Jenkins. Edited by Lillian A. Hamrick. (Library of Congress: Washington, D. C., 1950. Pp. [802]. $5.00.)

The tremendous task of microfilming early state records is apparent to anyone who scans this huge volume. A closer study only emphasizes the work involved in this undertaking, which was begun in 1941, interrupted during the war, and resumed in 1946.

The value, however, of this *Guide* is obvious. The volume serves a dual purpose: "(1) to supply the user with information as to the location of the original of each of the documents and its location on the reels, and (2) to provide a catalog from which orders for the reproduction of portions of the collection may be submitted and filled."

Just what constitutes "early" varies from state to state. The terminal date is governed, principally, by the scarcity of the records in the research libraries of the country. S. A. W.

NEWS AND COMMENT

SPRING TOUR OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The history faculty of the University of Illinois was host at the annual Spring Tour of the Illinois State Historical Society in Champaign-Urbana on May 25 and 26. With Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., associate professor of history, as chairman of the local committee, a very compact program was arranged and carried out on schedule.

In the only business session of the two days, the Directors' Breakfast on Saturday morning, two new directors were named to fill vacancies on the board until the Society's annual meeting in October. They are J. Ward Barnes, of Eldorado, who is also a vice-president, and Ralph E. Francis, president of the Kankakee County Historical Society.

The opening luncheon on Friday, in the Garden Room of the Urbana-Lincoln Hotel, was attended by about fifty of the earliest arrivals, who were welcomed by Elmer E. Abrahamson, of Chicago, president of the Society. Frederick Charles Dietz, head of the Department of History, was chairman of the afternoon session held in the University's Gregory Hall. The speakers were: Carl Stephens, University Historian, on "The History of the University of Illinois"; John C. McGregor, associate professor of anthropology, on "Prehistoric History"; and Richard N. Current, associate professor of history, on "Resources at the University of Illinois for the Study of the History of the State and Region." This meeting was followed by a bus tour of the campus and the University farms.

The annual spring banquet Friday evening in the Grand Ballroom of the Illini Union was attended by more than 125 members. Chairman Bestor was toastmaster and introduced Robert G. Bone, professor of history, who extended the University's official welcome to the group. Charles E. Nowell,

professor of history, delivered the address of the evening on "Civilization versus Civilizations."

The breakfast at the Urbana-Lincoln Hotel on Saturday morning was followed by a bus and auto tour of historic spots in and around Champaign-Urbana ending at the University's Robert Allerton Park, near Monticello, where luncheon was served. Stanley H. White, professor of landscape architecture, spoke on the Park, and later gave a guided tour of the grounds. One untoward incident marred the final part of the program—a heavy shower drenched the last group of members before they could return to their bus.

NEW PLAY FOR NEW SALEM

New Salem State Park will be the scene of a spectacular new drama this summer, sponsored by the New Salem Lincoln League and written and staged especially for the Lincoln village amphitheater. "Forever This Land" is its title, and the author is Kermit Hunter, who wrote the Cherokee Indian pageant which attracted audiences of more than 100,000 to Great Smoky Mountains National Park last summer. It will have twelve stirring scenes, providing two hours of drama, music, dancing, excitement, pathos, romance, and beauty. There will be a cast of more than fifty, directed by Samuel Selden, with an additional staff of thirty or so required to put on the production. Most of them will be recruited from Illinois colleges, but Harlington Wood, Jr., young Springfield attorney, will have the role of Lincoln. The amphitheater will be enlarged to accommodate approximately 3,000 spectators.

The theme of the play centers on the land itself and the time extends from before New Salem existed until after all its pioneers had moved away. Although Lincoln dominates the action, the period covered makes it possible to introduce a number of other historic figures.

Hunter also has written the music. A choir will be heard throughout many of the scenes and an electric organ will furnish a musical background. A narrator will tell the story when it is necessary to bridge gaps in time or thought.

"Forever This Land" will open on June 30 and close on August 25. It will be presented, beginning at 9 P.M. (daylight saving time), six nights a week—Mondays excepted. Admission prices are: reserved seats, $2.40, children, $1.20; general admission, $1.80, children, 60 cents, tax included.

Following "Forever This Land" in Kelso Hollow, the Abe Lincoln Players, of Springfield, will present the Robert E. Sherwood play, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," as has been their custom in recent years. This play will run for five nights beginning August 27.

LOCAL HISTORY CONFERENCE

The Kankakee County Historical Society was host to the Illinois State Historical Society and nearly fifty representatives from seventeen local societies on May 5, at an all-day session which included history discussions, luncheon, tea, and a tour. The meeting was organized by Dr. Harry E. Pratt, secretary-treasurer of the State Society, and its purpose was to acquaint the societies with each other's recent developments in the establishment and maintenance of local historical museums. Nearly as important as the main topic was the problem of interesting the youth of Illinois in their state's history.

Ralph E. Francis, president of the Kankakee County Society, was chairman of the opening luncheon meeting at which the guests were welcomed by Elmer E. Abrahamson, president of the State Society. John H. Hauberg, of Rock Island, past president of the State Society, spoke on "Boys and Girls and History." He is one of the originators of the *Illinois Junior Historian.* His talk was supplemented by Dr. Roger H. Van Bolt, co-editor of the magazine.

In the afternoon another meeting was followed by a tour of the Kankakee Historical and Arts Building and a tea. In addition to the Kankakee County Historical Society, the other local historical societies represented were: Alton Area, Bureau County, Du Page County, Edwards County, Englewood (Chicago), Galena, Geneva, Grundy County, Madison County, Oak Park, Peoria, Piatt County, Ravenswood-Lake View (Chicago), Rock Island, Saline County, Stephenson County, and Woodlawn (Chicago).

ILLINOIS JUNIOR HISTORIANS RECEIVE AWARDS

Illinois' "Junior Historians of the Year 1950-1951" received their testimonial awards from Governor Adlai E. Stevenson in simple ceremonies at his office in the Statehouse in Springfield on Wednesday afternoon, May 23.

The occasion was the climax of the fourth year of the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine, which is written and illustrated entirely by students of junior high school age in twenty-eight communities throughout the state and is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society.

Selection of the thirty-six award winners was on the basis of the excellence of articles and illustrations appearing in Volume IV of the magazine. More than three thousand pupils take part in the program, and they submitted about one thousand articles, drawings, and photographs during the year. Nearly 140 of these were published in the magazine.

This was the second year the awards had been made and two of the

winners were also among those honored last year. They were David Knight, Our Saviour School, Jacksonville, and Ann Wagner, Washington Junior High School, Rock Island.

The full list of the 1950-1951 award winners follows:

Alton—Dorothy Browder, Central Junior High School; David Ford and Peggy Trogdon, East Junior High School; Myra Jane Bowers, Elizabeth Burns, Patricia Lindblad, and Ruth Turnbull, Roosevelt Junior High School.

Chicago—Henry K. Cohen, Michael Kirk, Sandy Mintz, Michael Perlstein, Wesley Upton, and Franklin Wagner, Harvard School for Boys.

Decatur—Martha Burtschi, St. James School.

Dixon—Ronald Sholders, Janet Thompson, and Dessa Trautwein, North Central School.

Freeport—Mary Keene, Elizabeth McNary, Sharon Moellenberndt, Todd A. Moore, and Shirley Mae Price, Freeport Junior High School.

Jacksonville—David Knight, Our Saviour School; Doris Ann Pullam, David Prince School.

Lincoln—Nancy McMillen, Central School.

Moline—Bernard Guild, Elaine Mortier, and Don Paulson, Calvin Coolidge Junior High School; Katherine Bodenbender, John Deere Junior High School.

Petersburg—Fred Claussen, Petersburg Junior High School.

Rock Island—Barbara E. Claussen, Central Junior High School; Ramona Grisson, Franklin Junior High School; Bob Manhard, Jack Nightingale, and Ann Wagner, Washington Junior High School.

South Jacksonville—Carol Tayman, Community Consolidated School.

GOVERNOR'S MANSION NEARING ITS CENTENNIAL

The picture of the Governor's Mansion in Springfield on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* was taken around 1889. That was shortly before the cupola was removed, the roof raised, and the front porch transformed into a portico. These, plus painting and other slight changes, brought about the appearance in the picture on the next page, which was taken April 5, 1951.

The Mansion was first occupied early in 1856 by Governor Joel A. Matteson and, since then, has played its part in Illinois history—but so far has never had a written history of its own. Now that its centennial is approaching, this oversight is about to be remedied. Dr. Benjamin P. Thomas, Lincoln author and trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library, will begin writing the story of the Mansion as soon as sufficient data has been gathered.

There have been social affairs and benefits, marriages, births, and the death of one governor in the old house—Lincoln visited it a number of times. Details about these events and much more should be recorded somewhere waiting to be dug out for the historian. Dr. Thomas will welcome

ILLINOIS GOVERNOR'S MANSION IN THE SPRING OF 1951

old letters, newspaper clippings, and other material relating to the Mansion and its twenty-two gubernatorial tenants. The address is: Dr. Benjamin P. Thomas, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois.

GOVERNOR FRENCH'S LETTERS IN HISTORICAL LIBRARY

Students of the Illinois of a century ago will be interested in the collection of about a thousand letters addressed to Governor Augustus C. French which were recently received by the Illinois State Historical Library.

French was governor of Illinois from 1846 to 1853, and many of these letters relate to the campaign of 1848, about twenty have to do with the war between the "Regulators" and "Flatheads" in southern Illinois in 1847, and five very interesting letters are about the Bishop Hill Colony. Among the other subjects are the Illinois and Michigan Canal, construction of the St. Louis harbor, the cholera epidemic of 1851, and the Illinois Central and other railroads in southern Illinois.

One group of approximately three hundred letters is from Julius Wadsworth and Wadsworth and Sheldon, financial agents for the state of Illinois in New York City. About half of these have been published in Evarts B. Greene and C. M. Thompson, eds., *Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853* (*Illinois State Historical Collections,* VII, Springfield, 1911). Some of the better known figures in Illinois history who are represented by their letters include: William H. Bissell, two letters; Sidney Breese, ten; Stephen A. Douglas, three; Orlando B. Ficklin, six; John A. McClernand, twelve; Joel A. Matteson, ten; John Reynolds, three; James Shields, thirteen; Lyman Trumbull, thirteen; and John Wentworth, twelve.

The French letters are a part of the collections of McKendree College, but were sent to the Historical Library on a permanent loan basis for safekeeping by President Russell Grow and Librarian Gertrude Bos.

FIFTH CUSTODIAN OF LINCOLN'S TOMB

George L. Cashman, of Springfield, was appointed custodian of the Lincoln Tomb on March 12. A native of Massachusetts and a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cashman has lived in Springfield for the past six years where he operated a camera shop. He is a member of the Illinois State Historical Society and has long been interested in Lincoln. He has compiled a group of 130 slides on the life of Lincoln. These have been shown to thousands of school children and to many other groups throughout the state.

John Carroll Power, the first custodian, was born in Kentucky in 1819. He was the author of a life of Lincoln, a history of the attempt to steal the Martyr President's body, and an invaluable *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois.* He was made custodian in 1874 and continued in that position until his death in 1894. During Power's custodianship the tomb was maintained by the National Lincoln Monument Association and an admittance fee of twenty-five cents was required of all visitors.

In 1894, the Illinois General Assembly made provision for the transfer of the monument to the permanent care and custody of the state, and in July, 1895, it was formally turned over to the state of Illinois. Governor John P. Altgeld appointed Major Edward S. Johnson the tomb's second custodian in 1895, and he served until his death in 1921. Major Johnson, a native of Springfield, had been in the Seventh Illinois Infantry in the Civil War and was a member of the Lincoln Guard of Honor. His father and Abraham Lincoln were friends, and Major Johnson, himself, was a classmate of Robert Todd Lincoln.

Herbert Wells Fay was appointed in March, 1921. The tomb's third custodian held that post for twenty-eight years. He died on October 25, 1949. Mr. Fay, whose home town was De Kalb, was a noted Lincoln collector and had an outstanding collection of photographs. Following his death, his son, E. O. Fay, of De Kalb, filled the post for about a year. He resigned several months ago.

LARGEST COLLECTION OF ILLINOIS NEWSPAPERS

A complete listing of the largest collection of early Illinois newspapers in existence—that of the Illinois State Historical Library—appeared in the April issue of *Illinois Libraries* magazine, a publication of the Illinois State Library. In a brief introduction James N. Adams, who is in charge of the Historical Library's newspaper room, tells some of the features of this collection which consists of 4,466 rolls of microfilm and 10,442 bound volumes of newspapers, in addition to other thousands of single, loose issues. The Library has complete or nearly complete files of 66 papers for a period of 20 years or more; 23 of these are complete for 50 years or longer. Eight of the files run for 75 years or more. These are: *Canton Ledger,* 78 years; *Chicago Daily News,* 75; *Chicago Tribune,* 92; *Galena Gazette,* 116; *Ottawa Republican-Times,* 99; *Quincy Herald-Whig,* 77; *Illinois State Register* [Springfield], 112; *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], 120. Other features include the only known copy of the first newspaper published in the state, the *Illinois Herald* (Kaskaskia, 1814), a complete file of Elijah P. Lovejoy's abolitionist paper, the *Alton Observer,* one of the two known copies of the *Nauvoo Expositor,* and the only known file of the *Illinois Gazette* [Lacon] during Lincoln's Illinois years.

Anyone having letters, pictures, or information about Noah Brooks (1840-1903) is urged to get in touch with Wayne C. Temple, 300 South Goodwin, Apt. 311, Urbana, Illinois. Mr. Temple is writing a biography of this former Dixon resident.

Dr. Hugh Stewart Magill, of Auburn, was chosen to receive the 1951 Russell Colgate Distinguished Service Citation for outstanding contribution to Christian education in North America. The award was given on February 13, at Columbus, Ohio.

Dr. Magill was a former official in the Illinois Education Association and the National Education Association. He was a member of the state senate in the 47th and 48th General Assemblies. He is an outstanding

Methodist layman and was for many years a public school administrator in Illinois.

Charleston, Illinois, site of the fourth Lincoln-Douglas debate (September 18, 1858), is to give further recognition to the famous event. Two residence halls now being constructed on the campus of Eastern Illinois State College will be called Lincoln Hall and Douglas Hall. The cornerstones for these structures were laid on March 7. At present a plaque in the Coles County Fairgrounds just west of Charleston, where the debate was held, commemorates the famous day.

Sergeant Robert Brown, of the Alton police department, explained the city's civilian defense program at the February meeting of the Alton Area Historical Society. The group also discussed the Oliver R. Barrett Lincoln Collection. A campaign to purchase this collection for the Illinois State Historical Library is in progress.

Various exhibits have been shown at the Chicago Historical Society in the past few months. Pictures of Chicago before the fire of 1871 were displayed in January. Among the historic timepieces shown in February was a watch presented to Abraham Lincoln in 1861 by the *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield. Also shown in February were five Lincoln letters recently acquired by the Society. They were discovered among papers of the late George M. Pullman and were given to the Chicago Historical Society by the industrialist's grandchildren. According to report, membership in the Society has passed the 1,700 mark.

Officers of the Chicago Lawn Historical Society are: Richard O. Helwig, president; Mrs. Lee M. Karcher, honorary president; Howard G. Crane, first vice-president; Harry E. Dutton, second vice-president; Mrs. Elmer Bowlby, third vice-president; Mrs. Frank J. Richards, fourth vice-president; Helga Nielsen, historian; and Lila E. Jackson, secretary.

The South Shore (Chicago) Historical Society had for the topic of its February meeting, "Memories of the South Shore District." Among the speakers were: Mrs. Pearl Acker, Mrs. Walter Kimball, and Dr. J. Costello, all members of the group. Thomas Davis is president and Mrs. Irving Campbell, program chairman.

A program in honor of Washington's birthday was given at the February meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). Mrs. Minnie Moreland Dow acted in a playlet written by herself entitled, "The Youth Love of Washington." Mrs. Dow was dressed in the costume of Martha Custis. The Society's May meeting dealt with the centenary of the Illinois Central Railroad.

Officers of the Society are: Mrs. Netta B. Goss, president, Frank M. Phillis, vice-president; Mrs. Louis G. Rothchild, recording secretary; Beatrice Carswell, corresponding secretary; Bernadine McLaughlin, librarian; and Michael Sullivan, treasurer. Mr. Sullivan succeeds Emsley A. Cleeton, who died on January 23. Three new directors are: Mrs. P. A. Gray, Mrs. Alma Wilson McMahill, and Hugh Matchett.

The restoration and preservation of an old gristmill is the purpose of the Du Page Graue Mill Corporation, which expects to have the mill in operation this summer. The old mill in Fullersburg Park, adjacent to Hinsdale, will grind corn and sell the meal. This historical landmark deserves the support of residents in the Du Page County communities, and officers of the corporation are looking for antique items of the period from 1840 to 1870 with which to furnish the mill.

The Hardin County Historical Society officially organized in April when ten charter members paid dues. Officers elected are: A. R. Matheny, president; C. C. Kerr, vice-president; and James Robertson, secretary-treasurer. The group also voted to affiliate with the Southern Illinois Historical Society.

"Some Folklore of Southern Illinois" was Mrs. Julia Jonah Neely's topic at the March meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society. Edgar L. Dukes, secretary of the Edwards County Historical Society, told about the museum and historical library which that group maintains at Albion.

Officers of the Jefferson County Historical Society are: Mildred Warren, president; Glenn Dare, vice-president; Margaret Ann Cummings, secretary; and Frank Walker, treasurer. Mrs. Earl Hanes was elected to membership on the Society's board of directors.

The Kankakee County Historical Society, under the leadership of Ralph Francis, is planning for the centennial celebration of Kankakee in 1953.

The first of a series of historical lectures sponsored by the Society was

held on Sunday afternoon, March 9. J. C. Bohmker, whose hobby is archaeology and geology, spoke on the prehistoric days in Kankakee. There is evidence that a "vanished race" preceded the Indians in the Kankakee area.

Hermon Dunlap Smith spoke to the Lake County Historical Society in March. His topic was, "Early Maps of the Des Plaines River." He exhibited maps of the river's course dating from 1688.

Officers of the Society are: James R. Getz, president; Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, honorary president; Mrs. Bess T. Dunn, vice-president; Richard W. Hantke, vice-president; Harold Norman, treasurer; and Robert Tieken, secretary.

In co-operation with the Logan County Historical Society, Lincoln College presented Otto Eisenschiml in February in a dramatic program depicting the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Honored also at the affair were all who have resided in Logan County for over fifty years. Extremely inclement weather held down the attendance of old residents in the county. David H. Harts was particularly honored for having lived in Logan County for seventy-two years—the greatest number of years in Logan of any attending the meeting.

A roster of Logan County men who served with the Union Army in the Civil War has been framed by the Society and hung in the old courthouse at Mount Pulaski. The roster is from the private collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul E. Beidler, of Mount Pulaski.

Officers of the McLean County Historical Society are: Wayne Townley, president; W. W. Wallis, first vice-president; Dr. D. D. Raber, second vice-president; John W. Moore, secretary; Louis L. Williams, treasurer; Dr. E. E. Atherton, chaplain; Mrs. Margaret M. Hoffman, librarian; Mrs. Inez Young, assistant librarian. Directors are: William Brigham, Deane Funk, Campbell Holton, Harold Liston, Elias Rolley, Layman R. Tay, Carl Vrooman, and Verner W. Kurth.

Members of the Mattoon Historical Society were entertained at the home of the Paul Kizers in January. Reports on several historic homes in Mattoon were given by Emily D. Oblinger, Mrs. W. T. Miller, Mrs. Horace Champion, and Mrs. Virgil Dodson.

In March Mr. and Mrs. L. Paul Harris showed their films on Lincoln

landmarks in the Middle West. The meeting was held in the George H. Rudy home with Mrs. Charles H. Stinson as hostess.

Carlton J. Corliss spoke to the group at the annual spring dinner meeting in May. R. Harvey Wright is president of the organization.

E. C. Bessler spoke to the Peoria Historical Society in April. Mr. Bessler's topic was, "Peoria's Menu for the First 250 Years." His paper included sources and kinds of food available to the Indians and early settlers.

Dr. Roger H. Van Bolt, of the Illinois State Historical Library, spoke in April at a reorganization meeting of the Piatt County Historical Society. The organization, inactive for many years, is being revived under the sponsorship of the Monticello Community Club.

The death, on February 15, of Ernest V. Gates, of Wasson, is noted with sorrow. Mr. Gates, an enthusiastic collector of Indian relics, was active in the Saline County Historical Society of which he was president last year. He was also a member of the Southern Illinois Historical Society and the Illinois State Historical Society. Mr. Gates died of injuries received in an automobile accident.

John W. Allen spoke at the February meeting of the Saline County Historical Society. His topic was, "The Part of Folklore in History."

In April the Society met in the Old Town School near Stonefort. Restoration of the Old Stone Fort is planned and the group also hopes to make the road to the fort accessible to visitors. Scerial Thompson was master of ceremonies at the meeting.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt spoke at the annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society held in Freeport on April 10. Annual reports were also made at the business session.

Marion J. Russell showed motion pictures of her recent travels through Central and South America and the Caribbean to the Winnetka Historical Society in February.

In March, Elmer E. Abrahamson, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke to the group.

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Journal of the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Horsehair, Marble, and Kerosene

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Autumn 1951

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(For further information see inside of back cover)

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VOICE OF THE VOLUNTEER OF 1847

BY DAYTON W. CANADAY

The Picket Guard, an Army camp newspaper of the Mexican War, was published by two soldiers from Ottawa, Illinois, during the occupation of Saltillo in 1847. Seven weekly issues were printed and of these, six are now in the possession of the Illinois State Historical Library. William Osman, a grandson of William Osman the soldier-printer, gave the papers to the state just before his death in 1949. The first of the seven issues has not been located, issue No. 2 is dated April 12, and No. 7 is dated May 21 (the weekly publication day was changed before the last issue was printed). At the time the Historical Library received its gift a representative of the Library of Congress, which has only the May 3 and 21 issues, stated that he knew of no other holdings.

EXCITEMENT ran high in Ottawa, Illinois, when Governor Ford's proclamation of May 25, 1846, reached the city, calling for thirty companies of volunteers. Men in all walks of life enlisted as privates and quickly elected their own company and regimental officers. T. Lyle Dickey, a prominent lawyer, gave up his practice to organize one of the first companies. Broadsides were posted everywhere to stimulate enlistment, and newspapers began publishing extracts from Army regulations.

Dayton W. Canaday, as a representative of the Illinois State Historical Library, traveled throughout the state in 1948-1949 in search of historical materials and did much to publicize the Illinois Junior Historian. *The six copies of* The Picket Guard *were among the papers he acquired for the Library. Canaday received his Master's degree in Library Science at the University of Illinois last June, and he is now back in the Marine Corps where he served during World War II. His home is in Litchfield, Illinois.*

William and Moses Osman, owners and publishers of the *Ottawa Free Trader,* settled their personal business, left the paper in the hands of John Hise, and answered the call to colors as members of the Ottawa detachment. Going directly to Alton this group was assigned to the First Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry, Colonel John J. Hardin in command. Moses became a sergeant in Company I and William a quartermaster sergeant with the staff.[1] The uniform, "paid for by the United States," consisted of "bluejeans or Cassinet Jacket or Roundabout, with standing collar, and brass buttons; Pantaloons of the same material; and a glazed Cap."[2]

The regiment was outfitted, drilled, and eager for the year of service ahead. Alton presented itself in the finest light during the mobilization. The mayor, in the name of the city, donated a splendid grove for the encampment. Lieutenant William H. L. Wallace[3] wrote: "On the ground in our immediate vicinity are encamped some fifteen hundred troops, some of the companies well trained, and the whole presenting a scene to me novel and highly enchanting."[4] The regiment's departure on July 19 was a spectacular sight for the citizens of Alton. At an early hour, the steamer *Hannibal* began taking on board six companies of the First Infantry. Many of the men "who were drunkenly inclined slipped out of the ranks and filled their canteens with 'Old Red Eye'."[5] One man imbibed so much that he was drummed out of the company when the steamer reached Memphis.[6] At New Orleans the four Illinois regiments were divided, the First and Second going to San Antonio, the Third and Fourth to Vera Cruz. The command remained at San

[1] Illinois Adjutant-General, *Record of the Services of Illinois Soldiers in the Black Hawk War and Mexican War* (Springfield, 1902), 194, 205.

[2] *Alton Telegraph and Democratic Review,* June 6, 1846.

[3] William Hervy Lamme Wallace enlisted as a private but was soon elected second lieutenant. He served as a lieutenant and captain in the Mexican War and as a colonel and brigadier general in the Civil War. He was killed in the Battle of Shiloh.

[4] Isabel Wallace, *Life and Letters of General W. H. L. Wallace, 1821-1862,* (Chicago, 1909), 14. The Wallace Papers are in the Illinois State Historical Library.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.,* 16.

Antonio about six weeks while General Wool[7] organized his forces for the conquest of Chihuahua.

The march into Mexico began on September 26, and served as an education to the Illinois troops. They wrote home of the Texans, plantations, levees, tarantulas, chaparral, Spanish moss and prickly pears. The march was hard. Poor roads, dust, heat and frequent sicknesses made life at times almost unbearable. After nine hundred miles of thick, unbroken, and hostile country, Wool's forces arrived at Saltillo on December 22. Christmas Day the regiment moved slightly southward and set up camp at La Encantado. William Osman wrote:

> After tents were up and in order, the impulse was to take a rest. Our mess had a few gallons of wine left, and having come in possession of a couple of jack rabbits, and our cook having in addition to roasting them concocted a delicious corn pone and a plum pudding out of Mexican figs and raisins, we celebrated Christmas with a state dinner, which Colonel Hardin,[8] Adjutant Wallace and Secretary Goodell honored with their presence.[9]

General Taylor, after obtaining the capitulation of Monterrey, had occupied Saltillo on December 16, and had placed seven companies there under General Worth to hold the city while he moved his headquarters to Agua Nueva. He regarded Saltillo as an important outpost of Monterrey and deemed its occupation necessary, partly because it was the capital of Coahuila, but primarily because it controlled the vital mountain pass and the fertile country beyond, from which considerable foodstuffs might be obtained.

Santa Anna, too, knew the value of Saltillo and began his march to seize the strategic positions in the area. Taylor and Wool, fearing for the safety of American supplies left in Saltillo, drew back from Agua Nueva to Buena Vista as Santa

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[7] General John Ellis Wool was sent to Washington on May 15, 1846, to receive his orders for the Mexican conflict. He then went to Cincinnati to receive the unorganized volunteers of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Mississippi.

[8] Colonel John J. Hardin, a resident of Jacksonville, Illinois, enlisted at Alton on June 3, 1846, and was killed in the Battle of Buena Vista on Feb. 23, 1847.

[9] Wallace, *Life and Letters,* 32.

WHERE *The Picket Guard* WAS PUBLISHED

This map, showing Saltillo, Mexico, underscored at the lower left, was taken from *A Life of Gen. Zachary Taylor,* by J. Reese Fry, printed in Philadelphia in 1848. The town is about 200 miles inland from the Gulf of Mexico and 150 miles south of the Rio Grande.

Anna approached and it was here that they intercepted him.[10] On February 22, 1847, Taylor with four thousand men scored a decisive victory over Santa Anna's twenty thousand, and succeeded in driving the Mexicans from the area. The Illinois troops played an important part in the engagement. General Taylor wrote in his report of March 6, 1847:

The First and Second Illinois . . . Regiments served immediately under my eye, and I bear a willing testimony to their excellent conduct throughout the day. The . . . First Illinois . . . engaged the enemy in the morning, restored confidence to that part of the field, while the list of casualities will

[10] Erwin J. Urch, "The Public Career of William Barton Warren [1802-1865]," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XXI (Springfield, 1929), 100.

show how much these . . . regiments suffered in sustaining the heavy charge of the enemy in the afternoon.[11]

After the battle, the First Illinois retired to Saltillo, camping just outside the town. Lieutenant Colonel W. B. Warren was made Governor, with companies A and I as resident garrison of the city. On February 27, Warren issued orders respecting the command of the city. Privates and teamsters assigned to the American Army, unless wounded or on detached service, were to join their commands before six o'clock or be confined to prison. The Governor also banned the sale of liquor and issued a nine o'clock curfew. All Mexicans, except the police, were ordered to retire to their houses after sunset, or if they were without families or property, were ordered to leave Saltillo in twelve hours. The Mexican authorities were held responsible for the conduct of the Mexican people; the officer of the day for the Americans.[12]

Uneventful days followed for the men under Warren. Fresh food was abundant and the climate was superb. Only news from home was needed to make life a "pic-nic," but unfortunately, mail service was extremely poor. Newspapers were available only when smuggled in as letters or when handed down by division commanders.[13]

Other regiments had begun to publish their own newspapers. Among these were the *Corpus Christi Gazette, Matamoras Republic of the Rio Grande,*[14] *Matamoras Reveille, Monterrey Californian, Monterrey American Pioneer,* and the *Tampico Sentinel.* The men of the First Illinois, no different from the other troops, also wanted a newspaper. So, when William Osman found an abandoned printing office, he

[11] Illinois Adjutant-General, *Record of the . . . Mexican War,* xxvi-xxvii.

[12] *The Picket Guard* (Saltillo, Mexico), Apr. 26, 1847.

[13] Eaton Goodell Osman, " 'The Picket Guard,' A Journalistic Reminiscence of the Mexican War," 5-6. MS. in Illinois State Historical Library.

[14] The *Republic of the Rio Grande,* edited by Hugh McLeod and printed by J. N. Fleeson, was short-lived. Military officials forced its retirement and John N. Peoples took it over, changing the name to *American Flag.* Many papers in the States depended on it for news of happenings at the front for the rest of the war.

THE PICKET GUARD.

BY W. & M. OSMAN. SALTILLO, MEXICO, APRIL 19, 1847. No. 2.

TERMS:

A single copy.....one bit.
5 copies.....50 cts
13 do 1 00
$5 per 100 copies.

Advertisements inserted at $1 for 12 lines or less, the first insertion, and 25 cts. for every subsequent insertion.

A MONTH'S WORK.

Frigid as an iceberg, and dead to every generous or patriotic impulse, must be the heart of that American who can read the subjoined orders without a feeling of pride and exultation. Here is summed up the work of our army in Mexico during one short month. Three great victories—each enough in itself to cover our arms with glory—all to overwhelm the enemy with terror and dismay. Were it any other but this foolishly proud and stubborn people, here would be enough to have conquered peace. What can Mexico hope for by war—they would make many a sacrifice to be here at the winding up—and all they ask is for an enemy to present himself, an open field and fair fight, their old leaders at their head, and they have no fears of the result.

—

HD. QRS OF THE ARMY, VERGURA,
Before Vera Cruz, March 15th, 1847.
Gen. Orders,
No. 54. } The General in Chief of the Army has received authentic information of a great and glorious victory obtained by the arms of our country, under the successful Major General Taylor, at Buena Vista, near Saltillo, on the 22d and 23d ult. The general results were 4,000 of the enemy killed and wounded, against our loss of 700 gallant men. Gen. Santa Anna, on sustaining that overwhelming defeat, is known to have retreated upon San Louis Potosi, and probably will not stop short of the Capital.

The General in Chief imparts this glorious news to the army that all, with him, may participate in the joy that is now

Scott and Gen. Taylor, announcing to the army the victories achieved by our arms at Vera Cruz, Buena Vista, and Chihuahua, the General commanding takes occasion to express to them his gratification at their orderly conduct and good discipline since the battle, their bearing in which is now gaining for them the praise and thanks of the whole nation.

He trusts that men who have covered themselves with so much glory will not have their good name for obedience to orders called in question by any laxity of attention to all the requirements of the service, now that their terms of service draw to a close. Their services are, at this time, as important, if not much more so than they ever have been; and, as the necessities of the campaign require they should be kept in Mexico until the last moment of the term of their engagements, it is the earnest wish of Gen. Taylor and Gen. Wool, as it should be of every one, that this may be done cheerfully and contentedly, so that no one shall, hereafter, have any regrets for the last days of a period of his life to which it must be the

EARLIEST KNOWN ISSUE OF *The Picket Guard*—NOTE THE USE OF TWO V'S FOR W'S

quickly secured the hearty approval of General Wool for publishing one. Since only division commanders were permitted the luxury of importing newspapers from home, Wool graciously turned over to William Osman all of his newspaper mail soon after its arrival. Moses Osman, with John P. Brooks[15] as typesetter, and a private as "roller boy," ran off the weekly edition on the same kind of press that Benjamin Franklin had used a hundred years before. Thus *The Picket Guard* was born.

The Picket Guard was a single sheet folded once to make four pages. Each page was three columns wide, the columns being eleven inches long by two and one-half inches wide. The printed page was twelve and a half by about eight and one-half inches. Each side of the sheet (two pages) was printed separately, each requiring one pull of the platen lever. Two men working four ten-hour days were required to publish each weekly edition. The enterprising Osmans substituted two v's when the supply of w's ran out, and also used italic letters when it was necessary to complete words set in roman type. The press used was somewhat out of condition and the printed pages show that the type was worn.[16]

The first issue made such a hit with the camp that within a week every available sheet of paper in Saltillo was exhausted and a supply had to be ordered from Monterrey. Terms as stated in each issue were:

A single copy ..... one bit
5 copies ..... 50 cts.
12 do. 1 00
$8 per 100 copies.
Advertisements inserted at $1 for 12 lines or less, the first insertion; and 25 cts. for every subsequent insertion.

William Osman wasted no time in registering a complaint about the mail service. In the issue of *The Picket Guard* for April 19, 1847, he asked:

Is there under the whole expanse shaded by thy mighty wings, great

[15] John P. Brooks was superintendent of public instruction in Illinois 1863-1864.
[16] Osman, "Journalistic Reminiscence," 10-11.

government of the United States, any one collected body of six thousand grown men, who are more shabbily treated in the way of post office accomodations [*sic*] than the army at Saltillo? After four or five weeks hard coaxing, we have at last had *one* letter from Comargo [*sic*]. No newspapers can get here at all, unless they are smuggled through as letters. Is there anything in the regulations that makes it criminal for soldiers to read newspapers? If so we want to know it, for in that case our shop closes at once. We'll be the means of hanging no man.

Previously, the Post Office Department had requested postage on mail from the men in the Army. But shortly after *The Picket Guard's* complaint the order came through that postage was to be remitted to the soldiers on all mail received by them.

The Picket Guard made no use of illustrations and even poked fun at a New York contemporary for using drawings which pretended to show scenes of Mexico. Osman said one of them depicted General Taylor mounted on a fierce, prancing steed, in full military suit, with towering plumes and huge epaulettes, whereas Taylor actually rode an old white horse and was dressed in an old long coat and a private's uniform.

Advertising, in spite of the tempting terms, was almost nonexistent in *The Picket Guard.* There were only three such insertions. One read: "Puff at Random.—Good American Wines at Random's store."[17] Another advertised new goods which had just arrived at one of the local stores. In the third, the "puff" turned up in this form:

> You can get a good cigar
> At the store of sutler Carr
> On the corner next the church,
> On the lovver side of the *squar!*[18]

The editor, often lacking enough news to finish out the column, would insert such things as: "Keepyourizeoffthe-printer'scopy,"[19] "Line vvanting in this column,"[20] or "Impor-

[17] *Picket Guard,* Apr. 26, 1847.
[18] *Ibid.,* May 3, 1847.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.,* May 10, 1847.

tant to Epicures.—No oysters in tovvn; also fresh fish, green apples, and ripe peaches—*mucho bueno*—Chep as dirt."[21]

The Picket Guard devoted much space to discussing the battle of Buena Vista, as one might expect, for many of the men had participated only in that engagement, and they clamored for news and opinions of it. The paper also reproduced the orders of Scott, Taylor, Wool and Warren; announcements of such events as the capture of Vera Cruz and of Chihuahua; and even reports from Santa Anna's headquarters. The editors excerpted freely from American newspapers to provide "late" news from home, and home papers thought enough of *The Picket Guard* to reprint its stories, too. The *Ottawa Free Trader,* which undoubtedly was sent copies of *The Picket Guard* by one of the Osmans, states in an excerpt: " 'The Picket Guard'/We have received the second number of a paper bearing the above title. . . . We publish to-day several extracts from its columns, and hope hereafter to gather considerable news from it."[22]

Garrison duty in Saltillo does not appear to have been very disagreeable, as *The Picket Guard* portrayed it:

> One finds it difficult to realize, after a short residence here, that he is really in an enemy's city, surrounded by foes. Every thing glides along smoothly, calmly, and peacefully, we feel as secure in walking the streets at night as we should in any American city.[23]

The paper praised Warren for his excellent governorship in abolishing drunkenness and gambling. Even the fandango had to go. The editor seemed somewhat perturbed at the Mexican night watch who

> posts himself nightly at the corner of our building. Besides the most hideous yell we ever heard, . . . he has a whistle, so shrill that the "ear piercing fife's" most piercing note is soft music to it. We have heard it said that the English of what he screams out is, "Blessed be the Virgin! 11 o'clock." We never would have suspected it.[24]

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[21] *Ibid.,* May 3, 1847.
[22] *Ottawa Free Trader,* May 28, 1847.
[23] *Picket Guard,* Apr. 19, 1847.
[24] *Ibid.*

The Picket Guard gave a clever illustration of the Americans' struggle with the Spanish language. General Taylor battled incessantly and unsuccessfully with his Spanish. After more than a year in Mexico he had acquired only one word: *Vamos!* (Begone!) And he was not always certain about that. One day a Mexican came to his tent and complained in garrulous Spanish that the Mississippians were stealing his wood. If anything aggravated Taylor more than being addressed in Spanish, it was some accusation against his beloved Mississippians. The combination of both offenses brought forth the General's wrath and, with a fierce wave of his hand, he commanded, "*Huevos! Huevos! Huevos!*" ("Eggs! Eggs! Eggs!") This was the nearest thing to *Vamos* that he could think of.[25]

All was not rosy for the little newspaper, however. The April 19 issue stated: "The duties of the 'Picket Guard' are expected to be very onerous for several weeks to come, as the enemy is said to be approaching." The paper also had complaints from its public. On May 10 it carried this item:

> A "Picket" Returned.—One of the "Pickets" we sent out returned on Tuesday full of complaints. Had got into bad company, had been accused of falsehood, and finally driven home with a blackguard message to us. We know exactly who sent him—a smaller man "for his size" than we had even imagined he was. Should we ever have occasion to write a treatise on *Skunks,* we will give him a benefit.

The Picket Guard used the standard lines of communication in getting its news back to Ottawa and the home folks. Letters were carried by dispatch to Point Isabel where boats took them on to New Orleans. The principal route of communication between New Orleans and northern Illinois depended upon the rivers. The mail was then carried up the Mississippi and the Illinois to Ottawa.

When their term of enlistment, one year, was about to expire, the government offered a bounty of $12 to the men who would extend their tour of duty with the troops in Mexico.

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[25] *Ibid.,* May 21, 1847.

The Picket Guard called this offer "so trifling as to excite ridicule," since the bounty was less than the cost of sending new men from the States to Mexico. The editor added, however:

> Still, if the pay of the volunteers has been raised to $10 a month, of which we are not positively advised, the pay of those reenlisting will be $11. . . In addition to this, the volunteers reentering the service will receive, besides the 160 acres of land already granted them, 160 more for serving to the end of the war. Should the war last but three months longer, as appears to be the general opinion, here would be $12 as bounty, some $75 as mileage, $30 as wages, and 160 acres of land, besides some clothing, for 3 months service. Certainly good pay for soldiers. But if it lasts a year longer, of course the pay would not be so good.[26]

When the people of Saltillo learned that Warren and his men were going home, and there would be a change of garrison, they prepared a memo to General Taylor asking that these same men might remain until the close of the war. "As Illinoisans are members of these garrison companies, we may be permitted to boast of this," declared *The Picket Guard.*

The May 21 issue carried the statement from the editor that "This number winds up, so far as we are concerned, the Picket Guard . . . as our regiment leaves for home in a week." The people of Ottawa anxiously awaited the return of the volunteers and the *Free Trader* carried many news items regarding their disbandment.

By the end of June, the twelve-months volunteers had left Saltillo, and the new "for the war" troops were coming in.[27] On July 9 the *Free Trader* announced: "The present being the last number of the seventh volume of this Journal, no paper will be issued next week. Mr. Osman is expected home in a few days, and will resume his editorial labors as usual." Meanwhile the city prepared to welcome its returning warriors. A public dinner was planned for all soldiers and any townspeople who wished to attend. This notice appeared in the *Free Trader:* "The dinner will be served up in the Court House Yard, by Messrs. Smith and Fisher, at $1.12½—Volunteers free."

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[26] *Ibid.,* May 10, 1847.
[27] Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of the Mexican War* (Indianapolis, 1950), 314.

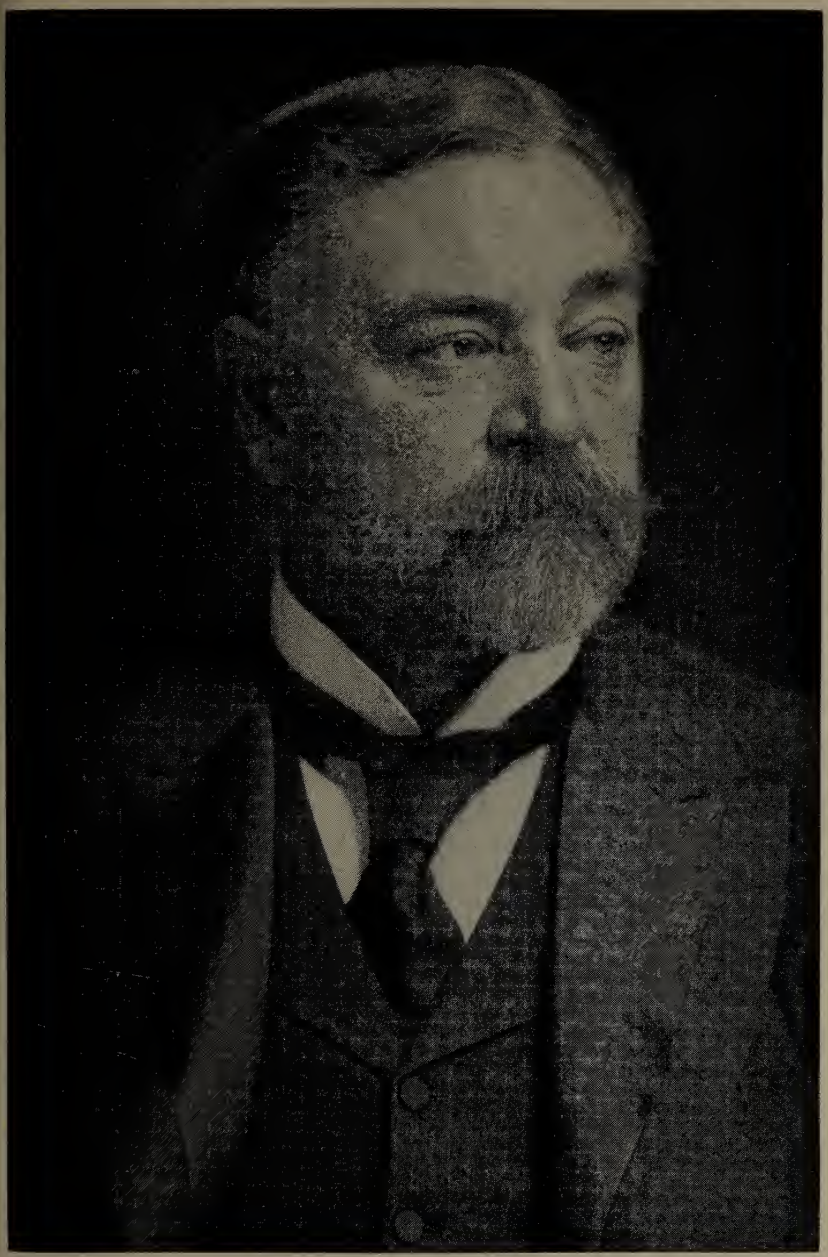
ROBERT TODD LINCOLN AND A FAMILY FRIENDSHIP

BY CHARLES V. DARRIN

THE friendship between the families of Abraham Lincoln and Dr. John Henry Shearer, who were neighbors in Springfield in the latter 1850's, resulted in correspondence extending over a period of more than sixty years. Ten letters written by Mary Todd Lincoln to Mrs. Shearer were published in the Spring issue of this *Journal*. They were written between the years 1859 and 1864. William Lincoln Shearer revived the Lincoln-Shearer correspondence and the eight letters published below were written by Robert Todd Lincoln between 1890 and 1920. These letters are now the property of the author of this article.

Mrs. Shearer was born Hannah Stanton Miner and had been married to Edward Rathbun, but she was a widow with two small sons when she moved to Springfield to live with her brother, the Rev. and Mrs. Noyes W. Miner, in 1856 or 1857. In my article about the Mary Todd Lincoln letters I stated that Mrs. Rathbun was a sister of Mrs. Miner. I have since learned that this was incorrect and that she was a sister of the Rev. Mr. Miner, pastor of the First Baptist Church.

Charles VanValkenburg Darrin, of Wellsboro, Pennsylvania, inherited a number of items of Lincolniana from his uncle, William Lincoln Shearer, among them these letters from Robert Todd Lincoln. He edited ten letters of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln in the Spring Journal *under the title, "Your Truly Attached Friend, Mary Lincoln."*



ROBERT TODD LINCOLN

This picture evidently was made during the period when he was president of the Pullman Company, 1897-1911.

Mrs. Rathbun and Dr. Shearer were married on June 1, 1858, and occupied a house across from the Lincolns on Eighth Street, where they lived less than a year before moving to Pennsylvania. Their son, William Lincoln Shearer, was born in October, 1861, and was named for the Lincolns' third son, Willie, at Mrs. Lincoln's suggestion.

While these letters from Robert Todd Lincoln confirm the Lincoln-Shearer family association they also reveal something of the personality of their writer and his determination not to capitalize on the reputation of his father. During his lifetime he held various public offices—among them Secretary of War, 1881-1885—but he was always careful not to do anything to detract from the Lincoln name. Nowhere is this trait better illustrated than in his custodianship of his father's private papers which he did not allow to be opened to the public until 1947, twenty-one years after his own death.

When the first of these eight letters was written in 1890 Robert Todd Lincoln was United States Minister to Great Britain, having been appointed to that post the year before by President Benjamin Harrison. He returned to Chicago in 1893 and became attorney for the Pullman Company, and in 1897 became its president. He resigned this position in 1911, due to poor health, and retired from active business life. He moved to Washington, D. C. in 1912 and spent the rest of his days there and at his summer home, Hildene, near Manchester, Vermont. The last letter of this group is dated September 2, 1920, six years before the writer's death.

The full texts of the eight letters follow:

I

[Written on Mourning Stationery] MT PLEASANT IA
26 DEC. 1890.

MY DEAR MR. SHEARER

I am mortified that your pleasant letter has remained so long without acknowledgement, but I have been over-

whelmed with work. Of course I remember your father & mother neighbors in Springfield but I did not know they had a son named after my brother. As you say, your mother was one of the most intimate friends of mother & my own memory of her is most agreeable. As you do not know it, my mother died eight years ago in Springfield. I do not remember having seen such an ornament[1] as you describe—probably my mother presented the duplicate to some other friend.

I hope that we shall have the pleasure of meeting and I assure you you will always be a welcome guest in my family. I have been saying goodbye to my wife & daughter upon returning to London, whither they are to follow in a few weeks.

Asking to be most kindly remembered to your father
I beg you to believe me

MOST SINCERELY YOURS
ROBERT T. LINCOLN

II

PRIVATE LITTLE BOAR'S HEAD
NEW HAMPSHIRE

5 JULY 93

MY DEAR MR. SHEARER

Your letter is sent on to me here & I am very glad to have so pleasant a reminder of one who is I doubt not the well grown up original of a baby photograph preserved in one of our old family books.

In a merely personal matter I am highly gratified by your too kind expressions & thank you for them & for your offer.[2] My ambition has not however been in the direction you suggest & if any effort were necessary on my part it would be

[1] A brooch with an eagle and crossed flags given to Mrs. Shearer by Mrs. Lincoln in 1861 when they were in New York together. Mrs. Lincoln ordered dinnerware for the Executive Mansion and the jeweler presented her with two brooches—the design on the china mounted in gold. Mrs. Shearer's brooch is now in the possession of the writer.

[2] Shearer, a newspaperman and enthusiastic worker for the Republican Party, had suggested that Robert Lincoln be a presidential candidate in 1896 and that he be permitted to advance his candidacy. It will be noted that Shearer persisted with this idea until well into the spring of 1895.

[most impossible] to permit the use of my name in that connection either privately or publicly. I have been unduly honored by this administration & undeservedly well treated in my official station by the people & the press, but for many reasons I wish for the few remaining years of my active life to perform my duties as a private citizen & not those of any public office.

Believe me
Sincerely yours
Robert T. Lincoln

III

Rye Beach N. H.
24 July 94

My dear Mr. Shearer

I am much obliged for the kind terms of your letter but I cannot too strongly assure you that I have no thoughts in the direction you suggest & so far as I do anything, it will be to request any of my friends, who may be disposed to discuss me to turn their attention to some one else. I do not fail to appreciate the compliment of any such kind feeling but I cannot avail myself of it.

In the absence of any accident we ought to have either Harrison or McKinley. There never was a better President than Mr. Harrison & if he wants it, the Country owes him a second term.

Believe me
Sincerely yours
Robert T. Lincoln

IV

30 April 95
6 Madison Street
Chicago

My dear Mr. Shearer

I have been almost constantly out of town during April in professional work, so that my personal mail could not receive much attention from me.

I have read with interest your favor of March 29th & assure you of my appreciation of your complimentary sug-

gestion & offer. I cannot however assent to it. I cannot say too strongly to any friend like yourself that I cannot conceive the circumstances which would induce me to avail myself of or countenance the friendly aid you profer [*sic*]. I am simply not in the running and will not be and I have never for a moment felt otherwise. As I have said to you, I am first for Mr. Harrison (who was defeated not worse than Cleveland) because he has demonstrated his commanding fitness for the position but whoever may be the man at the head of the ticket, it will not be myself.

With many thanks for your kind expressions

BELIEVE ME
SINCERELY YOURS
ROBERT T. LINCOLN

V

CHICAGO 7 MAY 96

60 LAKE SHORE DRIVE

MY DEAR MR. SHEARER

I am just leaving town for our spring fishing in Lake Erie (The Peter Club, Sandusky, Ohio) where I want to stay until May 20th & then go to New York, for a few days. I think I shall be home by June 1st, to remain for several weeks. If your visit can be then I shall be glad & very pleased to see you.

It looks now as though the delegates at St. Louis would have little to discuss except the platform & there ought not to be much trouble about that if it is not to be shifty.

SINCERELY YOURS
ROBERT T. LINCOLN

VI

[Typewritten] PULLMAN BUILDING
CHICAGO

DECEMBER 23, 1897

MY DEAR MR SHEARER:

Please excuse my long delay in acknowledging your kind note of November 15th; but I have been exceedingly busy.

I am afraid that the work thrown upon me makes me the subject of anything but congratulations.

VERY SINCERELY YOURS,
ROBERT T. LINCOLN

WILLIAM LINCOLN SHEARER, ESQ.,
WELLSBORO, TIOGA CO., PA.

VII

[Typewritten] PULLMAN BUILDING
CHICAGO

DECEMBER 16, 1898

MY DEAR MR. SHEARER:

I received today the copy of "The Advocate"[3] giving the news of the death of your father, and I assure you I appreciate highly your thoughtfulness in sending it to me.

I remember your father and mother very well indeed, although it has been more than a generation since I saw either of them.

Let me assure you of my earnest sympathy in this affliction, which should be tempered to you by your having had your father with you for so many years.

Believe me,

VERY SINCERELY YOURS,
ROBERT T. LINCOLN

W. L. SHEARER, ESQ.,
WELLSBORO, PA.

VIII

[Typewritten] HILDENE
MANCHESTER
VERMONT

MANCHESTER, VT., SEPTEMBER 2, 1920

WILLIAM LINCOLN SHEARER, ESQ.,

MY DEAR MR. SHEARER:

I have your letter of August 23rd. and have read it with very great interest. I knew, of course, that your father and mother were very intimate friends, especially of my mother's, before and during the Civil War, and the extracts from letters

[3] The *Wellsboro Republican Advocate,* a weekly newspaper of which Shearer was editor and publisher.

indicating it, bring back a great many things to me. The date of the letter in which my mother spoke of me should, no doubt be 1859, as it was written at the time I went east to pass the entrance examinations of Harvard College. In this I failed, and so passed a very valuable year to myself at Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire. This enabled me to pass the Harvard examinations in 1860 without difficulty and in the first college vacation thereafter I returned to Springfield for the first time.

To be frank with you, I have seen so many letters of that time that these would not especially interest me, but I assure you that it would be very pleasant to me if you and Mrs. Shearer make your contemplated automobile trip to Washington. I trust that you will call upon me there, and let me make your personal acquaintance. We can then talk over a great many things. My residence there is 3014 N Street, in a part of Washington which was formerly Georgetown. I live in a very old house which is interesting in various ways.

Trusting to have the pleasure of seeing you,
Believe me

Very sincerely yours,
Robert T. Lincoln

BOOKS FOR THE BOYS IN BLUE

BY CARROL H. QUENZEL

COMPARED with the tremendous library program of the United States Army in World War II, the attempts to provide the Union forces with books and other reading matter during the Civil War were distinctly voluntary and small-scale operations. Nevertheless, these efforts were made and, contrary to the generally accepted belief, there was a centralized book distribution program in the closing months of the war and for some time thereafter.[1] This was the Loan Library System—one of the last and one of the most deeply appreciated services of the United States Christian Commission.

Before tracing the history of the Loan Library System, brief note should be taken of other attempts to meet the serviceman's reading needs. Connecticut led the way. In January, 1862, the Rev. L. W. Bacon became convinced that many of the volunteers from that state were sorely missing the literary and religious opportunities to which they were accustomed and so he organized the Chaplains Aid Commission. Obtaining the support of prominent citizens from all parts of the state, the

[1] John Jamieson, *Books for the Army. The Army Library Service in the Second World War* (New York, 1950), 12.

Carrol H. Quenzel is librarian and professor of history at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, at Fredericksburg. He is a graduate of the library school of the University of Illinois and received his Ph. D. in history from the University of Wisconsin. During the past summer he was a visiting professor at Florida State University, at Tallahassee.

Commission supplied each of Connecticut's ten regiments then in camp with chapel-tents, newspapers, and a library of from 75 to 175 bound volumes.

Dr. Bacon left the state shortly after the formation of the Commission and the major portion of its work fell upon the secretary, Francis Wayland, who later was dean of Yale Law School for thirty years. In assembling the Connecticut regimental libraries he was assisted at first by Chaplain John M. Morris and later by H. O. Ladd. The books they selected were on "a great variety of subjects" and of high quality. To be sure that the libraries contained some of the "newest and freshest" volumes, Wayland bought 250 of the most worthwhile recent publications.

For each library he devised a strong portable case, with shelves, lock, and handles, so that the book collection was packed by simply locking this case, and ready for use as soon as the box was set up and unlocked. The ten cases were made by a carpenter, Samuel Nicholas, for the cost of materials. Each library was provided with a written catalogue.

The books were enthusiastically received. Chaplain Morris of the Eighth Connecticut Volunteers reported that the "nicely selected" stock of books was gone in two hours after he opened the box, and that the demand for reading was "four times the supply." This clergyman added that Charles Dickens had a "great run" and that the tales of Miss Maria Edgeworth and T. S. Arthur (*Ten Nights in a Bar Room*) were "very popular." Chaplain Henry L. Hall of the Tenth Connecticut Volunteers characterized the library he received as "just the thing needed . . . . well assorted and entertaining."

By July, 1862, when the work of the religious tract societies and local soldiers' aid societies made the Chaplains Aid Commission no longer needed, this organization had forwarded to Connecticut troops 1,284 bound volumes, 5,448 magazines and "a large number of illustrated and religious

newspapers." Furthermore, Wayland continued to send books and periodicals throughout the war.[2]

Although the United States Sanitary Commission was not primarily concerned with providing the armed services with books and periodicals, it did supply some. In October, 1863, the Secretary of War granted permission to the Commission to forward 600 woolen shirts, 600 Canton flannel drawers, 600 pairs of woolen socks, 1,000 handkerchiefs and two cases of reading matter.[3] Included in the list of supplies that the Sanitary Commission furnished the New Orleans naval hospitals and 23 government vessels from September 13, 1862 to February 16, 1864, were: 129 cases of farina, 541 cases of concentrated lemonade, 70 bottles of wine and brandy, 216 sheets, 106 fans, 516 towels and 243 books.[4] In the Commission's official organ there are other records of furnishing "large bundles of newspapers" and a number of boxes of books.[5]

The most sustained and comprehensive effort to provide library service was made by the Christian Commission. The Rev. Joseph Conable Thomas was the prime mover in this work. He was born at New Woodstock in the town of Cazenovia, Madison County, New York, on October 26, 1833. His parents, Mansier and Lucy Conable Thomas, were school teachers. After attending an elementary school and studying for "three quarters" in the New Woodstock Academy, he followed in their footsteps by teaching in Cazenovia during the winter of 1852-1853. The following spring he moved to Illinois where he continued to teach "until he yielded to the call of God to preach the Gospel."[6]

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[2] W. A. Croffut and John M. Morris, *The Military and Civil History of Connecticut During the War of 1861-1865* . . . (New York, 1868), 182-85.

[3] *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin,* Vol. I (Nov. 1, 1865), 30.

[4] *Ibid.,* (Apr. 1, 1864), 339.

[5] *Ibid.,* 344; (June 15, 1864), 493; (July 1, 1864), 534.

[6] Letter of Edna L. Jacobsen, New York State Library, to Carrol H. Quenzel, Jan. 22, 1951, quoting D. A. R. "Cemetery, Church and Town Records," Vol. CLVII: 44; W. A. Layton, "Joseph C. Thomas," *Minutes of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Official Journal, 59th Session, April 10-16, 1907* (New York, 1907), 128.

In December, 1854, Thomas was licensed as a Methodist exhorter and in May, 1855, he received a local preacher's license. He entered Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, for special ministerial training in 1855 but withdrew after one school year and resumed teaching to recoup his finances. He spent the 1857-1858 academic year at Garrett, but in the fall of 1858 he matriculated at Cazenovia Seminary, determined to obtain a college education. After graduation from the Seminary in 1860, he resumed his studies at Garrett and Northwestern University.[7]

In response to the combined appeals of John V. Farwell, Dwight L. Moody, and B. F. Jacobs, Thomas accepted a chaplaincy and was mustered into the Army at Chicago on September 17, 1862. He was assigned to the 88th Regiment of Illinois Volunteers.[8] To his consternation he found that most of the young men were paying exorbitant prices for worthless novels and demoralizing literature. Determined that this trash had to be supplanted by better and more interesting reading, he began in December, 1862, to explore the possibilities of promptly and inexpensively supplying his regiment with the best periodicals.[9]

Chaplain Thomas displayed such unusual resourcefulness in meeting the reading needs of his regiment that General George H. Thomas detailed him in September, 1863, as general reading agent for the Army of the Cumberland. He originated a magazine distribution plan and when he put it into operation on January 1, 1864, the publishers of approximately seventy-five leading newspapers and magazines had agreed to supply copies of their publications at half the regular subscription price. In-

[7] Layton, "Joseph C. Thomas," 128; letter from James Taylor Dunn, Librarian of the New York State Historical Association, to Carrol H. Quenzel, Jan. 19, 1951, quoting *First Fifty Years of Cazenovia Seminary, 1825-1875* (Cazenovia, N. Y., 1877), 631.

[8] Layton, "Joseph C. Thomas," 128; Illinois Adjutant General's Office Records in the Illinois State Archives.

[9] Layton, "Joseph C. Thomas," 128; Lemuel Moss, *Annals of the United States Christian Commission* (Philadelphia, 1868), 714.

cluded in this group were the *Atlantic Monthly, Boston Transcript, Harper's Magazine, Harper's Weekly, Louisville Anzeiger, Louisville Journal, Methodist Quarterly Review, Nashville Union, National Preacher, New York Evening Post, New York Times, New York Tribune, North American Review, Philadelphia Bulletin, Phrenological Journal, Scientific American,* and *Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Republican.* The Adams Express Company generously transported these publications free of charge.[10]

Simultaneously with the inauguration of his sale of periodicals at half price, Thomas issued a circular extolling the patriotism of the co-operating publishers and appealing to others to do likewise. From the beginning he tried to interest the Christian Commission in the enterprise, but it was hesitant partly because the plan involved the receipt of money from soldiers for reading matter and partly because it included the distribution of secular literature. In April, 1864, however, upon the recommendations of Generals Thomas, Grant and Howard, the Commission assumed the work of distributing the leading secular magazines and reviews to the Army of the Cumberland. To prevent any misapprehension, each magazine sold under this arrangement was appropriately labeled, as follows: "U. S. Service Magazine/ is/ Bought of the Publishers at 30 cts./ Transported by Adams Express Company Free./ Sold at our Rooms and by Distributors at 30 Cts./ But only to the Army and Navy and in Single Numbers./ United States/ Christian Commission/"[11]

Under the half-price program in 1864 the Commission furnished the Army of the Cumberland with 35,000 new copies of *Littell's Living Age, Atlantic Monthly, Continental Month-*

[10] United States Christian Commission, *United States Christian Commission, for the Army and Navy, Work and Incidents for the Year 1864, Third Annual Report* (Philadelphia, 1865), 50. Henceforth this will be referred to as U. S. C. C., *3rd Annual Report;* Joseph C. Thomas, printed circular letter to publishers (Nashville, Tenn., Jan. 1, 1864); Moss, *Annals,* 485, 714-15.

[11] *Ibid.,* 715-16; U. S. C. C., *3rd Annual Report,* 50.

ly, Eclectic Magazine, Harper's Magazine, U. S. Service Magazine and *North American Review.* The distribution of periodicals at cost by the Christian Commission did not become general, but was confined to the Western armies.[12] However, another of Thomas' projects was one designed to furnish reading matter to men in all theaters of the war. In November, 1863, he issued a four-page circular outlining a reading system for service personnel and citing the following reasons why it was urgently needed:

> The general intelligence of the American people is proverbial. This rebellion has thrown into the field a war-host, which for education and customary reading, is without parallel in the history of the world. This host craves literature with all the power of habit.
>
> As soldiers, the men of our army and navy need and want periodicals and libraries more than they did or could as citizens. As citizens, they could and did, to a greater or less extent, have those comforts and pleasures, regularities and opportunities, employments and refinements which in some sense could be made profitable and enjoyable substitutes for literature. As soldiers, they are deprived of all these, and this privation increases ten-fold their longing and relish for reading matter. Their peculiar circumstances, too, subject them to exposures and temptations which render the possession of a thorough-going, high-toned literature overwhelmingly important. In the fundamental matter of health and discipline even, no pains nor means employed could be more economical than in this. An ample and wholesome literature is capable of doing our national defenders so much good as men, for their intelligence, patriotism and Christianity—as soldiers, for their contentment, obedience and courage, that I look upon any policy which would deprive them of it, as short sighted, cruel and criminal.
>
> Especially has the call for secular literature been unmet. The paramount importance of the religious need has absorbed all the benevolent activities. But this ought not to be: almost as well might one dream of satisfying hunger with water, or quenching thirst with food, as to think of substituting religious literature for secular, or secular for religious. Neither can properly supply the place of the other.[13]

In the same circular Thomas rejoiced that the difficulty of transporting regimental libraries—the chief obstacle to their introduction—had been measurably overcome by Chaplain

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[12] *Ibid.*, 48-50; Moss, *Annals*, 716.

[13] Joseph C. Thomas, *A Reading System for the Army and Navy* (Nashville, Tenn., Nov., 1863).

William M. Haigh of the 36th Regiment of Illinois Volunteers. Under the plan of this thirty-three-year-old English-born Baptist preacher of Bristol, Illinois, the regimental library was contained in eleven small boxes—each holding a cubic foot or less—one for each company and one for the field and staff. The field and staff section was carried in its wagon, and the ten company sections in the company wagons.[14]

In January, 1864, Appleton, Harper, Lippincott, Little, Brown & Company, Putnam, Scribner, Van Nostrand, Wiley, and approximately forty-two other leading publishers agreed to sell their books for Christian Commission loan libraries at fifty per cent discount. After spending "weeks" studying publishers' catalogues and "dictionaries of authors" and examining the books themselves in bookstores and libraries, Thomas compiled an Army catalogue of all books deemed suitable for service libraries.[15]

Questioned concerning his criteria for selection, Thomas replied that none but the best, most suitable, and cheapest editions were chosen. Although he admittedly borrowed the idea from the American Seamen's Friend Society the book stock of his libraries contained more secular books than did the Seaman's Friend "Sea Missions."[16]

To take one of the most secular of the libraries, that of his own 88th Regiment, fifty-five, or slightly more than one-fourth of the total collection, were religious or inspirational. Among the forty-two biographies were Boswell's *Johnson;* Carlyle's *Life of Burns;* Irving's *Columbus, Goldsmith,* and *Washington;* Parton's *Life of Jackson;* Macaulay's *Life of Frederick the Great;* Masson's *Life of Milton;* Michelet's *Life*

[14] *Ibid.; Illinois Adjutant General's Report, 1861-1866,* Vol. III: 3, and the Illinois Adjutant General's File, Illinois State Archives; E. W. Hicks, *History of Kendall County, Illinois* (Aurora, Ill., 1877), 266.

[15] Thomas, *A Reading System. . .;* U. S. C. C., *3rd Annual Report,* 47; Moss, *Annals,* 717.

[16] *Ibid.,* U. S. C. C., *3rd Annual Report,* 49n.; letter from John Friend Noble, Executive Director, The American Seamen's Friend Society, to Carrol H. Quenzel, Jan. 30, 1951.

of Joan of Arc; and Ticknor's *Life of Prescott.* The twenty-seven works of literature included the *Arabian Nights, Robinson Crusoe, David Copperfield, The Vicar of Wakefield, Paradise Lost, Ivanhoe, The Lady of the Lake,* and *Gulliver's Travels.*

George Bancroft's *History of the United States,* Guizot's *History of Civilization,* and D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation* were a few of the best known of the twenty-six titles in history. There were also ten volumes on science, eight on military science and tactics, six on grammar and philology, the same number on philosophy and psychology, three on alcohol and tobacco, and two each on geography and horses.[17] On the other hand, Loan Libraries No. 22, 501 and 502 consisted principally of religious and inspirational books. Of the 125 in Loan Library No. 22, twenty were in German, one in Swedish, and one in French.[18]

At the start, Nathan Bishop acted as receiving, packing, and forwarding agent for all of the books purchased from the publishers in New York; Lucius P. Rowland, Jr., for those in Boston; Peter B. Simons, of George W. Simons, for those in Philadelphia, and Poe and Spaulding for those in Cincinnati. Rowland, as librarian, was the one paid employee of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association. Later he became General Secretary of the Boston Y. M. C. A. and still later he held the same position with the Philadelphia Y. M. C. A.[19]

Eventually Gould and Lincoln became the clearing house for Boston, Charles Scribner and Company for New York, Ashmead and Evans for Philadelphia. After several months of receiving and distributing orders among twenty-five New York publishers, receiving packages, paying bills, and packing

[17] Joseph C. Thomas, *Catalogue of the Regimental Library of the Eighty-Eighth Illinois Volunteers* (n.p., n.d.). A copy is in the Library of Congress.

[18] United States Christian Commission, *Loan Library 22, Catalogue* (n.p., n.d.); *ibid., Loan Library 501, Catalogue; ibid., Loan Library 502, Catalogue.* Copies of these catalogues are in the Library of Congress.

[19] Thomas, *A Reading System . . .*; letter from William B. Whiteside to Carrol H. Quenzel, Jan. 31, 1951. Mr. Whiteside is writing a biography of Lucius P. Rowland, Jr.

and shipping books, Scribner and Company, through its representative, Andrew Armstrong, offered to do ten times as much free work "for our brave soldiers."[20]

Thinking that the approval of the "big brass" would remove much opposition and enlist support for the Loan Library System, Chaplain Thomas published a circular in April, 1864, containing endorsements of his system by twenty leading generals. Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant wrote that "I see nothing in it to oppose, but on the other hand everything to commend." Major General John A. Logan stated that Thomas' reading plan met with his "hearty approval." Major General Ambrose E. Burnside took "great pleasure" in approving the reading system. Major General Joseph Hooker wrote Thomas that "if the use of my name will be of any service to you in promoting your work of benevolence among the troops, or elsewhere, I beg that you will employ it."[21]

That the right type of book was sorely needed in 1864 was indicated by the complaint of William Salter that the literature given the soldiers at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, was "frequently dull and unsuitable." This Christian Commission delegate from Iowa claimed that he was forced to distribute to sick and wounded men pamphlets on "the condition and duties of women."[22]

The Loan Library System not only originated in the West, but to the Western branches of the Christian Commission—those in St. Louis, Peoria, Cincinnati, Indianapolis—belong credit for making the first appropriations for its support.[23] The system eventually expanded to include all Union fighting men, and Thomas was made general library agent of the Christian Commission.

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[20] Moss, *Annals,* 717-18, 718n.; letter from John Hall Wheelock to Carrol H. Quenzel, Jan. 2, 1951.

[21] Joseph C. Thomas, *A Reading System for the Army and Navy, Opinions of Generals* (Nashville, Tenn., Apr. 1, 1864). A copy is in the Library of Congress.

[22] Philip D. Jordan, "William Salter and the Slavery Controversy, 1837-1864," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (Apr. 1935), 117.

[23] Moss, *Annals,* 724.

A library case three feet square and eight inches deep, protected by dovetailed and iron-bound corners, and equipped with four shelves, housed each of the standard-size collections of one hundred and twenty-five books. There were also cases for the smaller libraries of seventy-five volumes. On the inside of the lid to each library case was a catalogue, in large type, with the names of the books arranged alphabetically by authors, and numbered. Additional catalogues on cards were provided for the special convenience of patients who were unable to go to the library.[24] Most of the library cases were made at the expense of the War Department and to that extent the federal government gave financial support to the Loan Library System.[25]

Each library had a register arranged to preserve with little trouble a complete history of each of its volumes. Monthly reports prepared from the data in the register included the number of times each book circulated, the books that did not circulate, books that were lost, and such incidents as were deemed valuable. These reports went to the general library agent who thus knew the location and condition of every library.[26]

The libraries were lent to hospitals, camps, vessels, or other places of deposit with the definite understanding that they were under the control of the Christian Commission and that they were to be returned when no longer needed. No library was placed in a hospital or elsewhere except in the custody of a responsible person who pledged in writing to see that the library was skillfully employed, carefully preserved, and promptly returned. The person in charge also agreed to forward promptly the monthly report.[27]

Chaplains or surgeons frequently assumed this responsi-

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[24] *Ibid.*, 718-19; U. S. C. C., *3rd Annual Report*, 48.

[25] U. S. C. C., *3rd Annual Report*, 47; *Christ in the Army: A Selection of Sketches of the Work of the U. S. Christian Commission* (Philadelphia, 1865).

[26] Moss, *Annals*, 721.

[27] U. S. C. C., *3rd Annual Report*, 49; Moss, *Annals*, 719-20.

bility because the library contributed markedly to the morale of the patients. Even before it was possible to secure a library from the Commission without cost, one hospital felt that it was fortunate that the half-price arrangement with the publishers and the free transportation enabled it to secure for $50 a well-rounded 185-volume library to which any soldier or officer who "cares to read will be happy to have access."[28] At first, the libraries of new books were supplied only to hospitals, but when the war ended they were furnished also to regiments, military posts, forts, and war vessels.[29]

As to the effects of the loan libraries, Charles Wiener, librarian of the United States flag ship *New Hampshire,* reported from Port Royal Harbor, South Carolina, that the library was having a salutary effect, lessening profanity and intoxication. Characterizing the library as "the best thing that the Christian Commission has done for the service," Chaplain Benjamin L. Brisbane of the Second Wisconsin Cavalry reported that the library was doing such "immense good" for his troops at Alexandria, Louisiana, that he was convinced every regiment should have one. Chaplain S. J. Orange reported that since a library arrived at Hempstead, Texas, the "soldiers have employed much of their time in reading, instead of card playing."[30]

From the headquarters of the First Division, Fourth Corps, Chaplain C. R. Ford wrote that the books from the loan library "were eagerly sought, highly prized and thoroughly read." Loan Library No. 11 was credited with greatly improving the social life and general deportment of the patients and attendants in an Army hospital, and with increasing the correspondence between the soldiers and their families and with decreasing boisterous and rude conduct.[31] Dr. Russell H. Con-

[28] *Christ in the Army,* 69.

[29] United States Christian Commission, *For the Year 1865, Fourth Annual Report* (Philadelphia, Mar., 1866), 85. Henceforth this will be referred to as U. S. C. C., *4th Annual Report.*

[30] Moss, *Annals,* 722-23.

[31] U. S. C. C., *4th Annual Report,* 86-88; Moss, *Annals,* 722.

well published a score of stories of men whose success in life "was traceable, in part, to their application to books during their leisure hours" while in the Union Army.[32]

The reaction was so favorable that the number of loan libraries was increased in 1865 to about four hundred: 275 large (125 volumes) and 125 small (75 volumes). Two hundred and fifty of the large libraries and 30 of the small ones consisted of new books, while 25 large and 95 small libraries were made up of books donated by the public.[33] The following table shows the number of books distributed through the Loan Library System:

1862	3,450
1863	39,713
1864	93,872
1865	159,781
	296,816

It should be understood that the slightly less than 300,000 volumes was the number distributed by the Christian Commission through the Loan Library System "and that the total number of bound books distributed by the Commission was much greater."[34]

In the final breaking up of hospitals and camps after the war, many of the loan library collections were lost, but enough were saved to supply more than fifty permanent posts and forts in different parts of the United States and to place twenty-five libraries on warships, and for a "long period" afterward these book collections were in regular use.[35] It is not possible to say whether the success of the Loan Library System inspired the formation of an 800-volume library for the 21,255 prisoners at

[32] Russell H. Conwell, *How a Soldier May Succeed After the War . . .* (New York, 1918); Theodore W. Koch, *Books in the War, The Romance of Library War Service* (Boston, 1919), 3.

[33] U. S. C. C., *4th Annual Report,* 84.

[34] *Ibid.,* 26; Moss, *Annals,* 724.

[35] U. S. C. C., *4th Annual Report,* 85; Layton, "Joseph C. Thomas," 129.

Point Lookout, Maryland. These books were donated.[36]

Although Thomas was mustered out of the Army at Nashville, Tennessee, on June 9, 1865, military units desiring loan libraries were directed early in 1866 to communicate with him.[37] In June, 1866, he received an A.B. degree from Northwestern University and a B.D. from Garrett Biblical Institute. Two years later he received his M.A. degree from Northwestern.[38]

In 1867, Thomas joined the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church and during the following decade he served churches at Flatbush, Long Island; East New York; East Norwich, Long Island; and the Leonard Street and Orchard Mission churches in Brooklyn. Overwork and the resulting poor health that had interrupted his work somewhat at these churches, caused him to accept a supernumerary status in the Conference from 1877 until the "turn of the century" when he was superannuated.[39]

He served on the staff of the New York *Christian Advocate* and he was librarian of the Methodist Book Concern and of the Methodist Historical Society. Thomas was seventy-two when he died at Clifton Springs, New York, on September 18, 1906. He was buried in New Woodstock Cemetery.[40]

[36] U. S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, *Report of . . . on the Conduct of the War* (Washington, 1865), Vol. III, Miscellaneous section, p. 65.

[37] U. S. C. C., *4th Annual Report*, 85.

[38] Letters from Eleanor J. Tonkin, Registrar, Garrett Biblical Institute, to Carrol H. Quenzel, Feb. 1, 6, 1951.

[39] Layton, "Joseph C. Thomas," 129.

[40] *Ibid.*, 130; Jacobsen to Quenzel, quoting D. A. R., "Cemetery, Church and Town Records," Vol. CLVII: 44.

HARD TIMES IN ILLINOIS IN 1780

BY JOHN H. HAUBERG

"TALK about hard times," said an old-timer, "people today don't know what hard times are." This paper has to do with a period when times *were* hard, and people endured in the belief that their children and their children's children would one day, in the Illinois country, know a better life.

The War for Independence was in progress. Virginia had sent George Rogers Clark to Illinois where his presence was to divert the attention of the British recruiting agents among the Indians. That was in 1778. By 1780, Clark and his men had been indulged by the Illinois French for a period of two years —long enough for the French to learn that Virginia money had little or no value. The Illinois French were sick of billeting Clark's soldiers in their homes, especially when times were so hard that they could scarcely support their own families.

The year in Illinois had started off with severe cold. It was known as the "hard winter."

For three months, snow covered the ground and the rivers were frozen to the bottom. Most of the cattle and thousands of buffalo, deer, turkeys and other animals perished. Settlers were reduced to the utmost extremity for

John H. Hauberg, of Rock Island, is a director and former president of the Illinois State Historical Society. Among his writings are a number of articles on pioneer days in Illinois and he has assembled the material for a history of Fort Armstrong. His efforts to interest young Illinoisans in the history of their state are well known. He established the Indian museum in Black Hawk State Park and was one of the originators of the Illinois Junior Historian *magazine.*

want of bread. "One johnny-cake was often divided into twelve equal parts twice each day." Corn rose from fifty dollars a bushel in November to two hundred dollars in March.[1]

The French towns were no longer able to subsist American soldiers in their homes. But the American boys would eat, nevertheless, and proceeded to kill "before our eyes even, our pigs and other animals."[2] A Frenchman complained that Major John Williams had placed a pistol at the neck of one Gagné and "threatened fiercely to blow off his head, if he did not agree immediately to obey his order and lodge his soldier."[3]

Captain Richard McCarty, formerly of Connecticut, who commanded one of the companies which marched to Rock Island in June, 1780, is sometimes criticized for having been tyrannical to the French.[4] But from his letter to Clark, dated at Kaskaskia, October 14, 1780, there appears to have been much provocation:

Sir:

I have so many things to Inform you of I dont kno' Rightly where to begin. . . . Our men are very near all Sick, Some dies. . . . The whole people here are Sick, a General Murmur Children Dieing fast, Number of the Inhabitants goeing off, the Enemy having Distroyed their Corn, pumkins, Cattle horses &c. . . .[5]

The 13th [August]; Sett of to Return to Islenois . . . we have nothing to eat but Corn without Grece or Salt. Much Murmuring Amongst the Troops, arrived at Caskakia the 20th Myself very sick. . . . People in General Seem to be Changed towards us and Many things Said Unfitting. . . . My Men have been three days without Provisions, and can not procure Any for them they have killed hogs in the Commons this Creats Bad Blood & c and Some of My Men as well as Capn Kellars have deserted. . . Some of our poor Soldiers Died purely for want of Subsistance.[6]

There was practically the same tone in Colonel John

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[1] James Alton James, *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781 (Illinois Historical Collections,* VIII, Springfield, 1912), cxviii.

[2] Clarence W. Alvord, *Cahokia Records, 1778-1790 (Illinois Historical Collections,* II, Springfield, 1907), 549.

[3] *Ibid.,* 543.

[4] *Ibid.,* 2; John Francis McDermott, ed., *Old Cahokia. A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of Its History* (St. Louis, 1949), 242, note 22.

[5] This was at Fort Jefferson, on the east bank of the Mississippi, twelve miles below the mouth of the Ohio.

[6] Alvord, *Cahokia Records,* 618-20.

Montgomery's letter to Clark as early as September 29, 1779, in which he wrote:

I have not had a man to desert from this place Since My arivel here But I have Beene under the needsatisety of havein som of them whipt for their Conduct. . . But Capt M Cartey has had a good Meney deserted over to pancore [St. Louis].[7]

Certainly part of the 35,000 pounds of bear bacon which had been contracted for two years before would have been welcome, but if any of it was ever delivered, none was in evidence now.[8]

The situation with regard to clothing was little, if any, better. In his letter of September 29, 1779, Colonel Montgomery had written to George Rogers Clark:

Sir,

I Cant not tell what to do in Regard of Clothing for the Soldiers as the Goods you Wrote to Me about is Gon But I Expect Sir that you will Stope them and I would Be Glad that if it is in your power To Send a Relefe to Me for the Soldiers if it is onley As Much as will Make them A litle Jump Jacote [jacket] and a pear of overalls apeas I think they Mite Scuffle threw.[9]

Captain McCarty had written to Montgomery on September 19, 1779:

Sir

Since you left us my men Desert dayly, they are Continually with me to Cloath them or give them there Discharge, that they may Cloath themselves. I have trouble enough with them and have thought could we Contrive a Method by the intermission of Mr. Bourgard to Satisfie them for the present for If Something is not done, they will all leave me Except my English who are the least Clamourous, yet they Complaine, and Colo, Todds Residence here will spoil the people intirely for the Inhabitants no more Regard us then a Parcel of Slaves. Neither do I chuse to do any thing yet Soldiers & people Disatisfied, you may think what a poor life your humble Servt hath. My Schem is to purchase as much Strouds as will make a short jacket, and a pair of long Trowsers to each man. . . . For Shoes we must Shift with Mogasins. . . . It will be A Terrible Price to the State but

[7] Clarence W. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, V, Springfield, 1909), 126.
[8] *Ibid.*, 63.
[9] *Ibid.*, 125.

yet it will be perhaps better to pay then have in a few days no Soldiers which I think will Shortly be the Case If Some Such Method is not taken.[10]

The situation was no better in regard to boats. In his letter, previously referred to, of October 14, 1780, Captain McCarty wrote that news had reached him that the new Fort Jefferson, which Clark had built that spring just below the mouth of the Ohio, was besieged by the Indians and that he had been ordered to proceed with all troops to give aid. But, he said:

> We have only one Boat of the State hear and that impossible, for it to Swim up Unless Mended, no Pitch nor Oak'um. . . . I got Boat mended with old rags as well as could be, but was obliged to have it Sunk to try to make it tight. The 5th had the Boat loaded but was obliged to unload her, it sinking and was obliged to press all the little Boats to the No of five to Carry Men & Provisions.[11]

Colonel Joseph Bowman, too, had written to Clark about a year earlier from Cahokia: "I am afraid that Unless you send up a boat for the flower [flour] I shall be disappointed. I have had the offer of severl [*sic*] Bark boats but none of them in order, or strong Enough to trust A Load in."[12]

In money matters, Illinois could match any traveler's problems in Europe today. One bill might be figured in English pounds, shillings, and pence; another in livres and sols; still another in Spanish milled dollars; or again, in Continental currency, or in Virginia paper money. A certificate of indebtedness might be made out in terms of "7 bucks and one doe," or figured in terms of pounds of tobacco. The Indian always had a good medium—his furs. Their values stood up very well. And the Yankee urge for gain was a characteristic which remained at par. "There is great strides taken for to make Money at any rate."[13]

Mail service was most undependable. George Morgan, on one occasion, had to send a letter to the East. He wrote, "The Bearer, Silver Heels, I have promised sixty Dollars to

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[10] Alvord, *Cahokia Records,* 615-16.
[11] *Ibid.,* 619.
[12] *Ibid.,* 613.
[13] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records,* 195.

carry this letter to you and bring your answer."[14] But even rural delivery service at such prices could not always be depended upon. Colonel Clark wrote on April 29, 1779:

> A few days ago, I received certain intelligence of William Morris [William Myers],[15] my express to you, being killed near the falls of the Ohio; news truly disagreeable to me, as I fear many of my letters will fall into the hands of the enemy at Detroit, although some of them, as I learn, were found in the woods torn in pieces.[16]

The Illinois French had accepted and indulged Clark and his band of frontiersmen when they appeared in 1778 and, the following year, when recruits were wanted by Clark for the Vincennes campaign, there had been enthusiasm for the cause, not only by the men, but by the ladies, and Cahokians, who had been solicited to give a tenth of the cattle they had, volunteered, instead, to give a fifth for the cause. By 1780, however, all that was changed and they complained bitterly of "having at our houses a troop of brigands, who, far from being of any use to us, are insupportable and for whose board we are obliged to take in payment notes for lodgment without any hope of being ever paid."[17]

In a memorial of the inhabitants of Vincennes to the French Minister Luzerne, dated August 22, 1780, they list a long line of grievances against the invading Americans, and complain further:

> They bought all our goods, our horses, our provisions with the pretended money; and when we could not furnish them with any more, they had the audacity to go armed into the public mills and into the granaries of different houses to take away by force flour or grain destined for our food.
>
> Not satisfied with this violence, they thought they had the privilege of a different sort of abuse. They went and shot our cattle in the fields and our pigs in the streets and in the yards; and what is worse, they menaced and struck on the cheek those inhabitants, who wished to stop these strange extractions.[18]

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[14] *Ibid.*, 1.
[15] William Myers, Clark's agent, was killed by the Indians.
[16] James, *Clark Papers, 1771-1781,* pp. 169, 294.
[17] *Ibid.*, 327; Alvord, *Cahokia Records,* 547.
[18] James, *Clark Papers, 1771-1781,* p. 444.

Another example of the discouraging situation is shown in a letter of Richard Winston, writing from Kaskaskia to John Todd under date of October 14, 1780. He said in concluding his letter:

> It being so long a time since we had any news from you we concluded therefrom that Government has given us up to do for ourselves the best we can until such time as it pleases some other state or Power, to take us under their protection. A few lines from you would give some of us great satisfaction yet the generallity of the People are of the opinion that this Country will be given up to France be that as it will a few lines from you [will] add much to [our] happiness.[19]

Simply stated, the country was at war and enduring the inevitable hardships of war. The English had brought western Illinois into the Revolution as a result of a letter by Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton, the British commandant at Detroit, written in September, 1776. In it he said that there were with him at the time deputies from the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawnees, Senecas, Delawares, Cherokee, and Potawatomi, ready to go to war against the Americans.[20] Lord Germain, secretary of state for the colonies, took up the idea and sent positive instructions:

> As it is His Majestys resolution that the most Vigorous efforts should be made, and every means employed that Providence has put into His Majestys Hands, for crushing the Rebellion and restoring the Constitution it is The Kings command that you should direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton to assemble as many of the Indians of his district as he conveniently can . . . . so as to divide the attention of the Rebels . . . which cannot fail of weakening their Main Army . . . and thus bring the War to a more speedy Issue.[21]

The colony of Virginia accepted that challenge and exactly two years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1778, had an army under the command of George Rogers Clark in the domain controlled by Lieutenant Governor Hamilton. And the Virginia legislature on Decem-

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[19] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records,* 196.

[20] *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,* XI (Madison, 1888), 175. Cited hereafter as WHC.

[21] *Ibid., 175-76.*

ber 9, 1778, passed an act establishing the county of Illinois which was to include the inhabitants of Virginia north of the Ohio River.

The war carried on in this western "county" was more complicated, just as savage, and as uncertain of outcome as the campaigns up and down the Atlantic Coast. There were estimated to be eight thousand warriors among the Indians alone. When France, in 1778, came into the war on our side her nationals in Illinois hoped that they would be restored to the rule of France. Spain entered the war against England in 1779. New Spain extended from the Mississippi River westward to the Pacific Ocean, and from New Orleans, west and south, embracing Mexico, Central America, and territory in South America. England claimed everything from the Mississippi eastward to the Atlantic, and from the Gulf of Mexico north as far as anyone cared to claim anything. But neither was satisfied with these boundaries. Both lusted for more. Spain lost no time after entering the war. Before the year 1779 had closed she had taken Fort Manchac (Louisiana), Baton Rouge, and Natchez from the English. She had already extended her conquest on the east side of the Mississippi and was determined to have more of it. In fact, "Illinois County" was next on the agenda.

In 1780 General Washington, Lafayette, and the French Minister Luzerne sent Colonel Augustin Mottin de la Balme to the Illinois country, apparently to attempt a union of the Illinois and the Canadian French in opposing Britain—a good stroke of diplomacy if successful. But La Balme evidently found that impracticable. Instead, he proceeded to lead the Illinoisans to conquest on their own. He exhorted them:

> The Virginians are not the only scourge which afflicts you, gentlemen. On their side the English barbarians are giving abundantly of goods, of munitions of war, and are scattering with profusion burning liquors (the guardian God of the Indians) in order to have your throats, one after the other, cut . . . . shame is a thousand times more unbearable than suffering.[22]

[22] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records,* 186.

La Balme recommended a force of 400 Frenchmen, some 800 chosen Indians, ammunition and supplies for forty days, a tent to keep the arms and munitions under cover in case of rain, eight large kettles, eight horses to carry the utensils, and some provisions for the Indians. With such a force he was confident that he could lead them to a better day.

Although the French had received La Balme most enthusiastically, they were able to muster only "about eighty French inhabitants and Indians."[23] Off they went, however, about November 1, 1780, to conquer under the flag of France. Detroit was their objective, but they stopped at the Miami post and proceeded, in a high-handed way, to destroy and rob. They were attacked by the Miami Indians, who lost five of their warriors in the brief encounter, while thirty of La Balme's men were killed, including the Colonel himself.[24] About the same time sixteen Cahokians plundered St. Joseph, Michigan, made prisoners of the traders, and robbed them of their goods and furs. Then Indians, friendly to the British, pounced upon them, killed four, wounded two, and took seven prisoners. The remaining three escaped to the woods.[25]

With these two expeditions the Illinois French had made their contribution to the general, over-all confusion of 1780. The British had hoped to end this war in the West. Their plans were comprehensive and covered the upper and lower Mississippi on both sides. A force under Captain Henry Bird was marching south from Detroit to intercept any force which Virginia might try to send to Clark's relief in Illinois.

On May 2, 1780, some 950 British traders, servants, and Indians left the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers bent on the proposed conquest of their enemies below—Spanish, American, and French.[26] More Indian warriors were added as

[23] Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, xcii.

[24] *Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, XIX (Lansing, 1892), 581; James, *Clark Papers, 1771-1781*, p. 469.

[25] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Col.*, XIX: 591-92.

[26] James, *Clark Papers, 1771-1781*, cxxviii.

they descended the big river until their forces were estimated as high as 1,500. They thought their mission would be comparatively easy. More difficult, they admitted, would be the task of General John Campbell who, on his way up from the Gulf of Mexico, would have to pass New Orleans, with its militant Governor Bernardo de Galvez, and the former English towns of Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, now held by Galvez. But, they hoped the meeting of the two forces, Campbell's from the south and Emmanuel Hesse's from the north, would settle the mastery of the Mississippi Valley.

Professor James, in writing of the undertaking, says:

> This plan for gaining control over the Mississippi . . . for the recapture of the Illinois country, the Falls of the Ohio, and finally Forts Pitt and Cumberland, was one of the most striking military conceptions of the entire Revolution. If successful, the whole region west of the Alleghanies doubtless would have remained British territory, for all communication between Clark and the East would thus have been destroyed.[27]

And, no doubt, we today would be waving the flag of Canada. By the Quebec Act of 1774, Quebec was our British capital.

But the only result of which the British could boast in 1780 was that in these movements they killed a lot of people and livestock and took a good number of prisoners.[28] They lost, in this general campaign, the town of Pensacola, where General Campbell had wintered. Spanish forces from New Orleans, under Galvez, took over Campbell before he could even leave. Threatened by very superior numbers, Spaniards, Illinois French, and Colonel Clark's Americans stood shoulder to shoulder and thus drove off the British.

Colonel Clark had his difficulties in 1780. There were shortages of food, clothing, and practically everything else that was needed. Virginia could give no help. In fact, as early as January 29, 1780, Governor Thomas Jefferson had written to Clark, "the less you depend for supplies from this Quarter

[27] James Alton James, *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XIX, Springfield, 1926), xxi.

[28] WHC, XI: 154.

the less you will be disappointed."[29] Now, because of the threat of Britain, Clark was sought most earnestly by the Kentuckians, the people of Cahokia, and the inhabitants of St. Louis. He was the one man looked to as having prestige and the stature to meet emergencies. He actually claimed to have saved St. Louis by his presence; he had reached Cahokia in time to reassure the Cahokians; then he hurried to Kentucky, raised a thousand men and followed the Indians into Ohio. Clark was the man of the hour.

Before leaving for Kentucky, however, he directed Colonel John Montgomery to lead a punitive expedition to Rock Island[30] against the Sauk and Fox who had been among the British forces which had attacked St. Louis and Cahokia. The mission was successful in that it proved Clark was not helpless; that the British were unable to protect their Indian allies. Indian warriors enlisting and marching afar with British forces could not be sure that their villages would not be attacked and destroyed in their absence. Montgomery burned the villages and destroyed the crops, as he had planned.

Throughout this military turmoil in Illinois in 1780, there were people from east of the mountains migrating west in search of new homes. By February 20, the severe winter had moderated and the tide of immigration to the west set in. It was reported that during the spring three hundred large boats loaded with land seekers had arrived at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville). And also, during 1780, twenty thousand immigrants from the older colonies had arrived in Kentucky.[31]

Thus concludes our account of the year 1780 in Illinois. Hardship, confusion, and uncertainty were, perhaps, never in her history so heaped up, pressed down, and running over.

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[29] James, *Clark Papers, 1771-1781*, p. 389.

[30] William A. Meese, "Rock River in the Revolution," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1909* (Springfield, 1910), 97-103.

[31] James, *Clark Papers, 1771-1781*, cxix, n.

A BEGINNER ON THE OLD EIGHTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT

BY HARRY E. PRATT

THE well-known trio who traveled the Eighth Judicial Circuit in central Illinois in the 1850's were Judge David Davis, Abraham Lincoln, and Leonard Swett. In the 1860's Lincoln had become President, and by his appointment Davis was a member of the United States Supreme Court, and Swett moved to Chicago where he became a leader of the bar. His ability and success brought him clients from far and wide until his death in 1889.

Swett was described by his son as "tall and erect in stature, dignified and commanding in personal presence, possessing strongly marked features . . . gifted with a powerful, yet admirably modulated voice, suave manners and a persuasive tongue." He was very impressive before a jury.

Born in Turner, Maine, in 1825, Swett attended Waterville College (now Colby), for three years. Then he studied two years in a Portland law office. Family funds were limited so Leonard was given the schooling and his only brother, Danville, inherited the home farm. At twenty-two young Swett set out to make his way in the world. Finding book-selling unremunerative he enlisted in the Fifth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers and fought with them from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. Illness cut short his army career and he started back to Maine, but landed in Bloomington, Illinois, instead. There he took up the study of law again, with a teaching job to pay his expenses.

Swett chose the village of Clinton as a likely place to practice law. From there and other towns on the Eighth Judicial Circuit he wrote the following letters in which he describes so well the life of a young, ambitious lawyer from 1849 to 1854. These letters are from the Swett Papers in the Illinois State Historical Library and all of them are addressed to his sister Rose who was living in Turner, Maine.

Bloomington Mc Lean Co Ills
Jan 12, 1849

My dear Sis,

Yesterday I received a letter from you, dated the 18th ult. from which I learned to my surprise, that you had not heard from me for *three months* During this time I have written two letters one to you and one to Father; but the probability is that neither of these ever left the State. About two months ago the fall rains commenced and since then the mails have been very irregular and many of them known to have been lost. When it rains in this Country it rains with a vengeance as the saying is; and the creeks which are generally fordable are poorly supplied with bridges, are rendered impossible. So it has been for some time past. At one time we were three weeks without a mail from any place. I was reading not long since that a mail passing from Ills East was lost in a stream near Terre Haute Ind. and lay in the bottom of the stream about three weeks. This is a sample of the mail arrangements here for the last three months.

Since you last heard from me, I have remained in Bloomington and don't know that I have been away for the whole time. I have been practicing law as much as I could and have just about business enough to support me. I have not been very extravagant however I assure you. Since I have learned how difficult it is to earn money, I think I have learned to be prudent.

Those little verses you sent me were very nice indeed. They made me feel really homesick; and perhaps they were more endearing to me, since they were composed by an old sweetheart of mine. Did you ever see her She is the Clara of Lewiston. I think I have told you about and perhaps read you some of her letters. She used to write me some glorious

letters once. I found the correspondence in the end rather laborious and expensive and dropped it nearly a year ago. She is a girl of merit and as far as writing letters & poetry can't be beat. . . .

The California fever is raging severely. All are more or less infected and probably about fifteen or twenty will go from this town among whom perhaps I shall be numbered. Your last letter was written very neatly. Your style and penmanship have improved greatly since I left home. Can you say as much for me? Next week I shall commence a school in Waynesville a small town about twenty miles south of this place. When I get settled there I will report to you.

My letter to father which is intended for all and is nearly completed, will contain all the necessary information about me. I will therefore make this short. So good bye

From your affectionate Brother

Leonard.

Clinton De Witt Co Ills
Feb 16, 1850

Dear Sis,

I do not remember at present whether I owe you a letter, rather think I do not but as it is rather a dull day with me I will scribble a little any how. The weather today is very calm and pleasant, about an inch of snow on the ground which fell last night. It is so warm that I am now quite comfortable in my office though the fire has been out for several hours. This perhaps to people of the frozen State of Maine may seen somewhat strange and more especially so when I tell you and truly too that my nose, both cheeks and one ear are just thawing out from a late freeze. Illinois in the winter is the most unpleasant climate I ever saw. It seems to be the battleground of the northern and Southern elements and each alternately gain the mastery. One day the wind blows from the north and every thing is stiffened with the frost. Next the genial breezes of the South is ascendant giving us a mild and balmy atmosphere and mud up to the knees. The reason of my present frozen plight is this. Last Friday I went about twelve miles from town to

attend a trial on the following day. The next day after my trial I went about 4 miles and stopped with my client and the following morning about 10 A.M. I started for home. The road lay across an open prairie and to Town about 9 miles there was not a tree or shrub to shield me from the wind. I was mounted on a spirited horse and arrived in town in less than an hour after I started. But old Boreas had done his work on me and as I have said both cheeks, my nose and an ear was frozen.

My health this winter has been very good and my professional business more extensive and much more successful than I could consistently have hoped for before the trial. I have now been in Clinton a little more than four months.

The business which I have already done amounts to about $180.00 and of which I have collected about $50 and I have cases on my hands for the next Circuit Court in April to amount to over $100.

If my practice continues as well as it now promises it will for this year amount to about $600. This I think will do very well for the first year. I intend to come to Maine some time this year after a n——— I can't write it; but any how you may tell the girls to be in readiness.

Excuse this poor apology for a letter

[LEONARD.]

CLINTON OCT 31, 1850.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have just received yours of the 14th inst. and as this is a leisure afternoon I will answer it now. But methinks I hear you say "Your writing is horrible." Well maybe I have just been at work—doing my housework and my hand trembles. Housework? say you yes my housework. I have it to do for I keep Bach-Hall.

And just previous to the commencement of this letter I rode into town went to the Postoffice came to my room & found it much as I left two days before. Bed not made, shirts stockings & vests scattered all about the floor, carpet dirty, clock run down & table covered with papers nearly a foot thick &c &c & this you know a neat housewife would not allow & so I commenced at once & have spent the last half

hour in straightening things. Now I think if you could look into my sitting room you would envy my situation & cry ho! for a bachelor's life.

I have lived in this way for nearly 3 months. The way I came at it is this. My friend Mr Brown from New Hampshire had a small house in town & he proposed to me one day last summer to fit it up . . . & live Bach & so we went at it & in about two weeks we had a house which is neat genteel & decidedly comfortable But you say how do you cook? I do not attempt that but have made arrangements which suit me much better. Some time during the summer I made the especial friendship of a good old lady, a widow who lives almost in utter loneliness & but a short way from my room & agreed with her to hire her a girl & superintend the supplying of her table & board with her and have the use of her stable for my horse. So you see that I almost keep house I have a stable to myself in which I furnish my own hay & grain. Supply a table & all that sort of thing & manage in this way to live as cheap as when I boarded at the hotel and I assure you I live decidedly better & more comfortable. A few days since my friend Brown offered me the free use of the house we occupy for two years and a present of all his share of the furniture on one condition but that a *dreadful* hard one to wit: *to get married* Now say sis as you have some experience in these matters shall I do it?

Now is the pleasantest season of the year. The prairies have just commenced to burn. Within the next month millions of acres in this state are burned over. This I am confident has a powerful effect upon the temperature & makes the month of November one of the most pleasant in the year. Now too comes the time for chasing deer which as I have often said is my favorite sport & almost the only kind that I indulge in. I keep two horses which I think are decidedly fine. One a small cream colored mare near four years old the other a fine large bay. My cream which in remembrance of a lady now living in Orleans whom I had the misfortune to fall in love with I call "Nell," is without any jest the prettiest thing of the horse kind I ever saw and such a racer— but stop my sheet is full

L Swett

Clinton Ills March 13 1851

My dear sister

Since last night (it is now Sunday night) I have been officiating as a sort of cook chamber maid, wood chopper & Ostler for my friend Mr Brown. Some 3 or 4 days Chas was taken with the real old fashioned shaking ague & yesterday his wife joined in concert. I came out from town last night and since then have been officiating as a sort of supernumerary rendering assistance of all sort in manner as best I could. To night my patients seem to be better. Yesterday I went on horseback to Marion a town ten miles north and I think I never did even in Ills see the mud so deep as then. You Yankees have no idea of it I would say that my horse sunk at least six inches every step for more than half the way & often a foot. There that is some mud story isn't it. . . .

I remain As ever

Your Bro

L. Swett.

Clinton Ills.
March 17, 1852

My dear Sister,

For some reason I have been unusually anxious, for the last few weeks to hear from home. A week ago Wednesday (the day of the week on which most eastern letters come) I went to the office & scanned the address of each letter with an earnest hope that the next would be for me. As the last package was opened I turned away with regret. . . .

Sis I have grown old prodigiously since you saw me. Care & at times a sprinkling of trouble & also at times intense labor has written some deep wrinkles on my face. You'll say perhaps my habits have wonderfully changed if I have at last become a laboring man. I do not pretend this, I am as lazy as ever. Yet if I do say it myself there is not a man in Central Illinois who works harder at times than I do. For instance last week, a case came up unexpectedly when it became necessary to give the Methodist Church a sound flogging. Partly from a grudge to the Church & partly from an inveterate hatred to the minister whose character & conduct was on the trial to pass through my hands I was

determined that the scourging should be "done brown" & with unmitigated & merciless severity I had but one afternoon & night to prepare I locked myself in my room at 3 P M & with the exception of some five minutes for tea remained there in the most intense application until breakfast & then till 10. A.M. The trial commenced & at a few minutes before 1, that night I closed a 2 1/2 hour speech in which I took occasion to relieve myself of the wrath which I had long time been nursing "to keep warm." Here comes a man & I must stop. Sis write often.

L. SWETT

CLINTON MAY 15, 1852.

MY DEAR SISTER

My health continues good & weather is fine—Courts for a while are over & I am taking a glorious rest. I have written to day to Danville & Mary & hope they & yours are well.

Have you got a wife picked out for me. I believe I'd come home if I was sure of getting any. The town in which I live is improving rapidly. From the summit of the Courthouse the other day I counted 123 dwelling houses that had been built since I came here.

I rec'd a letter the other day from Danville & also one from Mary & the most astounding fact announced was the marriage of Mr Gross & Maria Burse. We have had an abundance of weddings here of late. Everybody but me has gone by the board. & it is currently reported among the old women that I am soon to become a victim. I reckon however they are mistaken. Now sis will you write as soon as you receive this.

YOURS &C
L SWETT

DANVILLE ILLS JAN 26, 1853

MY DEAR SISTER

I am at last in the home of my adoption not at Clinton but within the borders of my state & am sick too. I arrived here on Saturday (it is now Tuesday) & being in feeble health on account of a severe cold I was invited to become

the guest of the town—A nice room was accordingly provided for me where every thing which the heart could wish has been furnished. I have laid in bed or sat up as I wished. My room has always been full of visitors extending the closest attention & kindness at this time while I am writing my room is full. I am invited to remain as long as I like free of all expenses. It is about 100 miles home. I shall leave in morning in a conveyance provided by some friends.

You will hear from me soon. in the mean time I remain Yours

AFFECTIONATE BRO
L SWETT

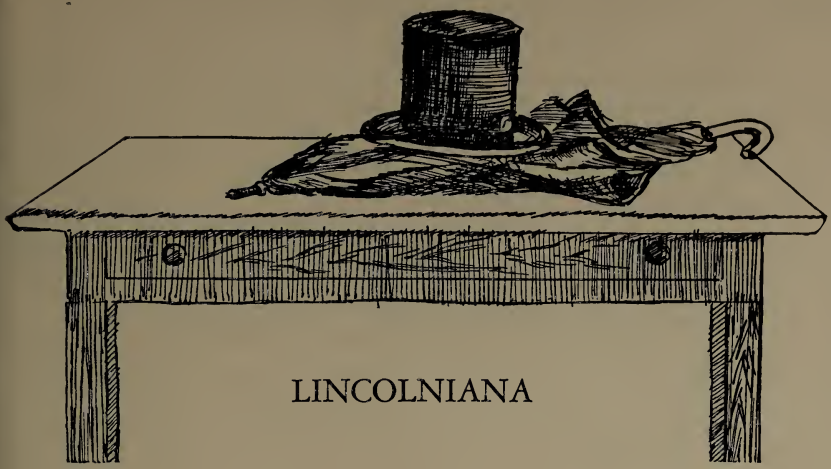
BLOOMINGTON APRIL 22, 1854.

MY DEAR SISTER,

. . . . Since you last heard from me, my health has been good and I have been a little more than commonly prosperous in worldly affairs. I can at last after rather more than ordinary rough & tumble life report myself settled for life.

Our spring Circuit Court closes its session to day. It commenced two weeks ago. I have not been so successful in my cases as formerly for I have had several criminals convicted I think in the criminal line I can say what few lawyers can. I have practiced law nearly five years have done an extensive criminal business and never had a man convicted of any charge but rum selling in all the time. This court I have defended every criminal indicted. They were about 20 in number 3 for shooting one for stabbing 1 for horse stealing 1 for counterfeiting & the remainder for the lesser misdemeaneors. Out of these one of the former class & four of the latter have been convicted. The pet case of the court was one for mal practice against one of our most prominent Doctors. The suit was for five thousand dollars I defended & succeeded. Last night as a token of gratitude he gave a party at his house at which none but professional men were invited. Fourteen Doctors were there, eleven lawyers & seven preachers. . . .

YOUR BRO
L. SWETT



LINCOLNIANA

AGENT FOR THE FIRST NOVEL BY AN ILLINOIS WOMAN

John Marshall, a Shawneetown attorney, was one of Abraham Lincoln's good friends in southern Illinois. On February 1, 1854, he wrote asking Lincoln to do a chore for him. This was gladly done, as Lincoln reported a week later in the following letter, the original of which is in the Chicago Historical Society:

SPRINGFIELD, FEBY 8. 1854.

HON: JOHN MARSHALL
SHAWNEETOWN, ILLS.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your letter of the 1st Inst was received yesterday. I went at once to the Express Office, got the books, placed twenty three of them at one Book-Store; & twenty four at another, for sale, at a commission of ten per cent, and took their receipts. Of the other three books, I took one to the Register, one to the Journal, and took one home with me. I found that the editors and booksellers had all previously seen favorable notices of the work; and one of the booksellers had sent an order to Cincinnati for some copies of it. I am not much of a reader of this sort of literature; but my wife got hold of the volume I took home, read it half through last night, and is greatly interested in it. When the papers here shall have noticed it—I will send you copies. The charge at the Express office was only $1.50; I return herewith one dollar, & hold fifty cents subject to your order.

My attention to this matter has been rather a pleasure than a trouble.

Your truly– A. LINCOLN–

Since Marshall's letter is not extant, Lincoln students have not been able to identify the book that Lincoln distributed and that his wife enjoyed reading. The answer can now be given. The Illinois State Historical Library recently acquired eight items dealing with Lincoln from the records of Birchall & Owens, "Book and Drug dealers, 7 So. Side Square in Springfield, Illinois," 1848-1854. One item reads: "Rcd Springfield, Feby 7th of Abraham Lincoln Esq. Twenty-three copies of work entitled Early Engagements, to be sold for 75 cts per copy 10 pcnt off for our comms."

The full title of the book was *Early Engagements, and Florence (a Sequel)* and it was written by John Marshall's youngest daughter, Sarah, under the pen name of Mary Frazaer. It was the first novel written by an Illinois woman and was published by Anderson, Moore & Company, Cincinnati, Ohio. Sarah was thirty when her first book appeared in 1854, and she continued to write prose and poetry for magazines and newspapers for many years. She married Judge John J. Hayden and died in Washington, D.C., in November, 1899.

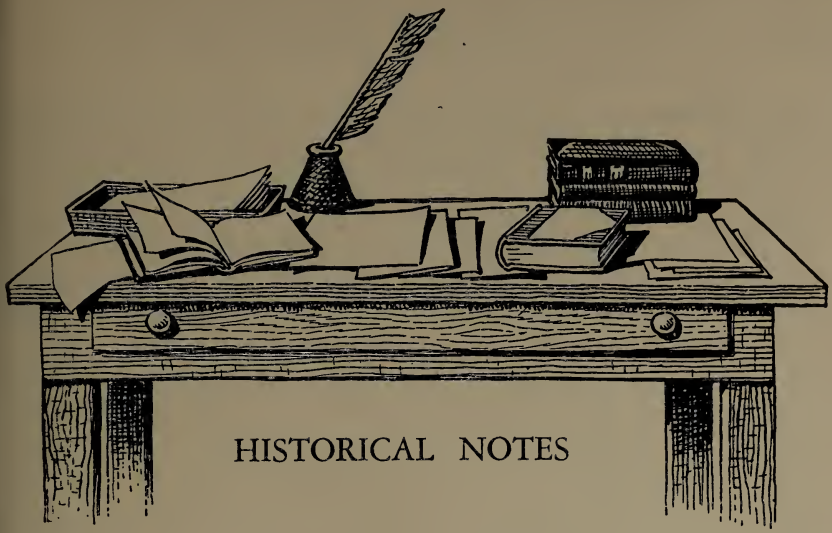
LINCOLN'S RELIGION

The following paragraph is from John Carroll Power's *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois* (page 535):

Thomas Mosteller lives now—1876—at Pleasant Plains. He remembers being present on Richland creek when Abraham Lincoln was waiting to make a speech. Josiah Grady said: "Lincoln, they have the story in circulation that you are a Deist." Mr. Lincoln immediately answered: "That is not so: my father was an old Baptist, and taught me to believe in the Christian religion, and I do believe in it as much as anybody; but I confess I have no religion."

Whether Thomas Mosteller's memory of an incident of about thirty years before was accurate or not may be a topic for debate. However, during the congressional campaign of 1846, Lincoln wrote a letter to the *Illinois Gazette,* of Lacon, and enclosed a handbill he had issued on the subject. Both the letter and the handbill were published in the *Gazette* of August 15, 1846, a copy of which is in the Illinois State Historical Library newspaper collection. They were reprinted in *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* of March, 1942. The handbill reads, in part:

That I am not a member of any Christian Church, is true; but I have never denied the truth of the Scriptures; and I have never spoken with intentional disrespect of religion in general, or of any denomination of Christians in particular.



HISTORICAL NOTES

THE GRANT-McCLERNAND CIVIL WAR FEUD

The Victorian living room on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* is in the Ulysses S. Grant home which was presented to him by his fellow townsmen of Galena on his return from the Civil War. He lived there until 1867 when he went to Washington as Secretary of War. In the autumn of 1879 he returned and stayed until mid-summer of 1881 when he moved to New York. The home was deeded to the city of Galena in 1904 by Frederick Dent Grant, son of the President, and in 1932 it was presented to the State of Illinois. It is now administered by the Division of Parks and Memorials and is open to the public.

The collections of the papers of General Ulysses S. Grant and Major General John A. McClernand in the Illinois State Historical Library present some interesting sidelights on the Civil War as well as on the personalities of the two men and the feud between them.

There are more than 200 Grant letters and of this number 156 are to McClernand, a member of Congress from Lincoln's district who left his legislative post to enter the Army. Both were promoted from brigadier general to major general at about the same time, but Grant outranked McClernand by several weeks. The dates on the first group of letters to McClernand show an almost daily correspondence between September 1, 1861 and August 25, 1862. In one of the earliest letters Grant, who was at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, wrote about the problem of "drinking shops" in Cairo and recommended that a provost marshal be appointed to "have this whole matter in charge and entirely suppress drinking saloons or put them under wholesome regulations." After investigation by a military commission, McClernand,

who was in command of the camp at Cairo, ordered all "tippling and other disorderly houses" in the vicinity closed.

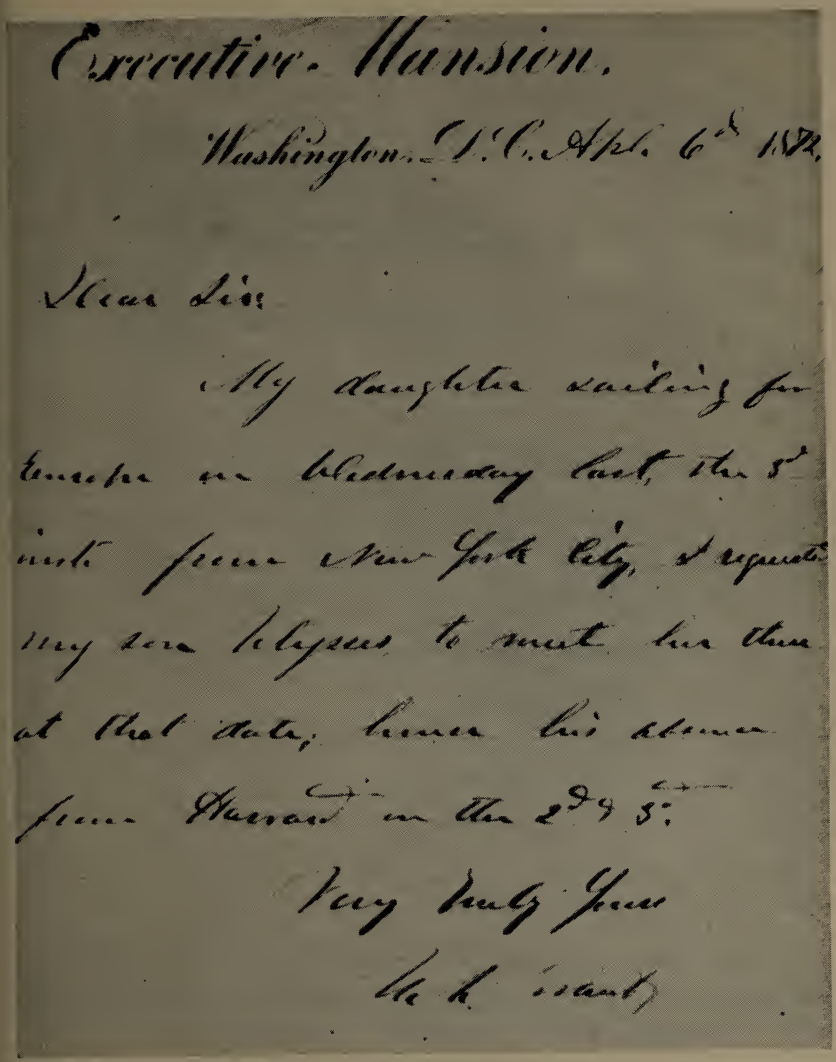
Soon after his first successes in the War Grant invited John A. Rawlins, a Galena lawyer, to join his staff. Rawlins later became his principal officer and most intimate and influential adviser. In a letter to Secretary of War Stanton, Grant described Rawlins as "a man of as much influence in the northern portion of Ill. as any one of his age [thirty-one] hailing from that section. From the firing of the first gun at Fort Sumpter [*sic*] to the present hour [October 30, 1862] his heart and soul has been in favor of a vigorous prosecution of this war. Before entering the serv'ce no man made more strenuous efforts to encourage enlistments."

A glimpse of Grant's family life is given by a note dated April 6, 1872, which is reproduced on the next page. It is an "excuse" Ulysses, Jr., had his father write when he was absent for two days from his classes at Harvard.

The second largest group of Grant correspondence in the Historical Library's collection consists of fifteen letters to General Henry W. Halleck, who outranked Grant until near the end of the War. On July 24, 1863, three weeks after he had taken Vicksburg, Grant wrote in a ten-page letter to his General-in-Chief, "Negro troops are easier to preserve discipline among than our white troops and I doubt not will prove equally good for garrison duty. All that have been tried have fought bravely." He went on to say, about his planned expedition against Mobile, "Either Sherman or McPherson would be good men to entrust such an expedition to . . . . the army does not afford an officer superior to either."

Grant's creed as a military man is shown in a letter to Halleck in February, 1864, when he said, "I am no stickler for form, but will obey any order or wish of my superiors, no matter how conveyed." His letter to Halleck about how to wage war in the Shenandoah Valley has been much quoted. He said, "If the enemy has left Maryland, as I suppose he has, he should have upon his heels, veterans, militiamen, men on horseback and everything that can be got to follow, to eat out Virginia clear and clean as far as they go, so that crows flying over it for the balance of this season will have to carry their provender with them." And, three months before Lee's surrender, Grant urged Halleck to buy cavalry horses, declaring, "thirty thousand spare cavalry horses . . . worth as much to us as that number of veteran troops."

Supplementing these original letters by General Grant in the Historical Library's files is an unpublished manuscript by Sylvanus Cadwallader, titled "Four Years with General Grant, 1862-66." Cadwallader was sent to Tennessee in October, 1862, by the *Chicago Times* as a reporter after Grant had ordered his predecessor to be locked in the Alton penitentiary. Cadwallader later became a correspondent for the *New York Herald* and was



Executive Mansion.

Washington D.C. Apl. 6th 1871.

Dear Sir:

My daughter sailing for Europe on Wednesday last, the 3d inst. from New York City, I requested my son Ulysses to meet her there at that date; hence his absence from Harvard on the 2d & 3d.

Very truly Yours

U. S. Grant

EVEN PRESIDENTS WRITE "EXCUSES"

The text of this note in the Historical Library's Grant collection reads: "My daughter sailing for Europe on Wednesday last, the 3d inst. from New York City, I requested my son, Ulysses, to meet her there at that date; hence his absence from Harvard on the 2d & 3d."

attached to Grant's headquarters until 1865. He was a favorite of Grant's and had all the privileges of a member of the staff—partly because he took care of the General once when the latter was on a spree.

ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

SANGAMON COUNTY PIONEERS

The Old Settlers' Society of Sangamon County resolved in 1872 to publish a history of the county including biographical sketches of all families who arrived prior to December 31, 1840. John Carroll Power undertook the job, and four years later his *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois* appeared. This 800-page work is unusual in several ways: each generation of settlers from 1817 to 1876 is shown in a different type face; it traces the movements of families that migrated from Sangamon County; and it is filled with the human interest stories peculiar to each family. Also, Lincoln collectors have made the volume a much-sought item. Within its covers are his relatives, friends, neighbors, law partners, and clients.

Here are brief glimpses of Sangamon County pioneers and pioneer life from Power's book:

John Overstreet . . . became a soldier in the war with England, in 1812. While in the army, he heard that his wife had been killed by Indians, and soon after was himself captured by Indians. Not long after his capture the Indians were preparing to burn him alive, and while doing so one of their number offered him such a gross insult that he knocked the savage down and he fell in the fire prepared to burn his victim. This act of brave daring in the face of death, inspired the other Indians with respect, and a feeling that he was too noble to be thus treated, and they saved his life. He was next sold and taken to Canada, where he fell into the hands of white men, with whom he was retained for a few years in rather easy restraint, and by the time he had gained his liberty, he had formed attachments, and mar-

ried there. One child was born, and the wife and child died. Finding himself once more alone in the world, a yearning desire for the scenes of his younger days sprang up, and he returned to Cabell county, Virginia. He paid his first visit to the old cabin where he had spent the years of his early married life. Seeing the smoke curling up from the chimney, he sauntered, half dreamily, to the door, and without having framed any excuse for his visit he knocked at the door, and after a short pause it turned on its rude wooden hinges, and the wife of his youth stood before him! Having long before given him up for dead, his sudden appearance in bodily form was more than she could bear, and she sunk in a swoon. Mr. Overstreet soon discovered that she had another husband, and when she revived, the three held a council. The two husbands agreed to leave it for her to say which should be her husband, each giving his word that if he was rejected, he would go away and offer no annoyance to the favored one. She decided to retain her first love. The rejected husband, true to his word, bade them adieu, disappeared, and they never heard of him again. (Page 551.)

Margaret Hathaway . . . was born . . . April 13, 1820. Her great-grandparents, on her mother's side, bore the name of Rogers. They emigrated from Ireland, and soon after the vessel sailed Mr. Rogers died at sea. A violent storm caused the destruction of the ship's stores, and in order to sustain life, three of the passengers were in turn killed and eaten. Mrs. Rogers had been selected by lot, as the next one to be slain. She asked for one hour to pray, which was granted, and all the preparations made for taking her life, the ship, meanwhile, carrying signals of distress. When but a few minutes of the time remained, the sound of a cannon came booming over the waters, conveying the glad tidings that they were discovered, and her life was spared. (Page 739.)

In 1840 ten young men, who had been brought up in the vicinity of Springfield, and had not seen much of the world, or heard a great man speak, learned that Henry Clay was to make a speech at Nashville, Tenn., at a certain time. They fitted up an old prairie stage, put on a cover, provided themselves with tents and provisions, and in August, 1840, Benjamin A. Watson, Henry Oswald, Daniel Woodworth, Edna [Enoch?] Moore, Stanislaus P. Lalumere, John H. Craighead, Oliver P. Bowen, Benoni Bennett, Moreau Phillips and James H. Matheny started in their wagon, drawn by four horses, and driven by Phillips. They camped out at night, did their own cooking, and sung the stirring campaign songs of that year in passing through every town and village. In some places they were applauded, at others jeered, and occasionally they were pelted with stale eggs, but they

sang through it all, were on time to hear Clay's speech, and were invited on the platform. They sung some of their spirited songs, creating quite a furore, saw a crowd of forty thousand men, ten times as many as they had ever seen before, and returned home as they went, having been out five weeks, and traveled about one thousand miles. They felt well paid for their time, labor and expense. (Page 480.)

Uriah Mann hauled all the rails and timber, for improving his farm, on a wagon constructed by himself, without any iron, the wheels being hewn each from a single piece of timber, from the largest tree he could find. His house was built by himself, of round logs. His tables, cupboard and other furniture were made from wild cherry lumber. In the absence of saw-mills, he split the timber into broad slabs, fastened them into a snatch block, hewed them to a uniform thickness, and after waiting a sufficient time for them to season, worked them into his household furniture. The first meal he ate in his own house, [1835?] the meat was hog's jowl, and the bread made from frostbitten corn. He hauled the first wheat he raised for sale to St. Louis, and sold it for thirty-five cents in trade. (Page 474.)

The sheriff, Bowling Whitesides, would send out a deputy, with instructions to assess and collect [taxes] as he went. Mr. [Joseph D.] Langston remembers that late in 1820 or early in 1821, the deputy came, riding one horse and leading another, with a pack saddle on it. He would engage in a promiscuous conversation, and without making his business known, would fix some value on their property. He would direct the conversation in such a manner as to ascertain how many coon skins they had on hand. He would then make his business known, and proceed to make his assessment and collection. Mr. Langston said it was a remarkable fact that the tax in almost every case amounted to *exactly the number of coon skins they had on hand.* When the officer had accumulated all his horse could carry, he would go to Edwardsville, make a deposit, and return for another load. And that was the way the first revenue was collected in Sangamon county. (Page 440.)

Thomas Lewis had nine brothers and one sister. His brothers all died, each leaving a widow. For several years Mr. Lewis had nine widowed sisters-in-law. (Page 455.)

John W. Matthew has no education from books, but has been a good business man in farming and stock dealing. In 1872 he took an over dose of quinine which totally destroyed his hearing. Not being able to read or write, and knowing nothing of sign language, he is utterly unable to receive or communicate a thought. (Page 483.)

THE CATFISH HOTEL AND OTHER TRAVEL NOTES OF 1834

This account of Quincy and a trip across Illinois more than a hundred years ago is from Henry Asbury's Reminiscences of Quincy, Illinois *(1882), pp. 49-51:*

The writer, a native of Kentucky, emigrated to Quincy forty-eight years ago, and well remembers the long ride on horseback through Indiana and Illinois to the banks of the great Mississippi river at Quincy, in 1834. In company with a young friend, now no more, we crossed the Ohio river at Madison, thence through Mount Vernon [Vernon, Ind.?] and Martinsville, striking the national turnpike road some twenty miles east of Terre Haute; thence across the Wabash river into the bottom lands lying between that river and Paris, in Edgar County, Illinois, and staying all night at the house of a prosperous farmer near the line which divides the States of Indiana and Illinois.

The Indiana country traveled by this route seemed in many places broken and poor, but on the White River bottoms rich and unhealthy. Doubtless all that country looks very different to-day, but then it seemed to us a hard country. We breakfasted at Paris, which was even then quite a village, and pursuing our westward way, we struck our first great prairie, and traveled all day without seeing a single human dwelling until we approached a strip of timber on the west side. Here we stopped for the night at the house of a well-to-do farmer, from Jefferson County, Kentucky. . . . Out host gave fare for ourselves and horses, and leaving him after breakfast, our next day's route led . . . mainly over what appeared as an almost boundless prairie, bringing up at night at an almost isolated cabin, with a rail pen for a stable, and no appearance of fences or cultivation in sight. This cabin was the only stopping place for miles in any direction. Our tired horses were stuck into the muddy rail pen and given a few ears of corn and a little prairie hay. They gave us for supper some tolerable corn bread and coffee, and full grown chicken cock *fried*. We started early next morning, and by 10 o'clock reached a better house and got breakfast.

We were now approaching the waters of the Sangamon River. Houses and farms were now more abundant, and at the end of a hard ride, at 10 o'clock at night, reached Springfield, staying all night at a frame tavern, a house then of some pretension . . . on the public square. . . . Springfield then appeared to contain a population of from five to seven hundred souls, and was then, as it is now, the muddiest town in the world. From Springfield we passed through Island Grove to Jacksonville. The settlements were sparse; no great amount of cultivated land was visible, but few frame houses and none of brick or stone. We found Jacksonville to contain several good hotels, a

Court House, the old Illinois College buildings, the then fine residence of Governor Joe Duncan, many stores, and upon the whole, it appeared the brightest and largest town within the State. It now seems a little curious to look back and remember that Jacksonville, in 1834, was a larger town than Chicago, Quincy, Peoria, Alton or Belleville; yet such, I think, was the fact. Staying over night at Jacksonville, we pursued our westward journey towards the Illinois river, observing that the country through which we passed was less developed than in the vicinities of Springfield and Jacksonville.

We reached Meredosia about sun-down, and put up at the well-known and long-remembered white frame tavern situated upon the bank of the river. This house was burned down only a few years since, and it always maintained its original character. The Illinois River is famous for large catfish. We observed soon after our arrival, a man go down to the river and haul in a line from the water, at the end of which was a large catfish. We had him for supper and breakfast. Ten years afterwards I put up at the same house, about the same time in the evening, and the same man, or one just like him, went down to the river and hauled out another catfish for supper and breakfast. Ten more years had passed, and I was again a guest of this house, and the same thing happened. On leaving the catfish hotel we ferried over the river in a flat-boat, and landed on the muddy bank on its west side, and thence proceeded fording the bottom about five miles. This was the hardest traveling we had ever experienced, and only enlivened a little by the sight of thousands of ducks, geese, swans and pelicans on every hand—sporting upon the inland sea. Finally we struck the bluff, and ascending, dripping with mud and water, reached at night the cheerful white frame dwelling of Mr. Casteen, where we stayed all night. The house was near the present town of Versailles, in Brown County.

The next day we passed through Mount Sterling, and I remember that it had at least one nice comfortable white frame dwelling in it—that of Mr. Curry. From Mount Sterling to Clayton, in Adams County, the dwellings, we observed, were all log cabins, At Clayton, Mr. McCoy resided in a comfortable white frame house. From this place to Dr. Gilmer's we saw no frame or brick houses—all log cabins. Before coming to Quincy we visited the old site of Fort Edwards, now Warsaw, in Hancock County. There remained a part of the old fort still standing, and inhabited by one or two families. Montague had a small store-house and a stock of goods on the hill, and there was one or two buildings under the hill. This was all of Warsaw in the fall of 1834. Soon after our visit to old Fort Edwards we came to Quincy, my traveling comrade passing on into Missouri while I remained. Quincy then contained about five hundred inhabitants. The old Land Office Hotel, some-

times called the bed-bug hotel, was the largest tavern. There were some half a dozen very respectable frame houses, a good many log houses, including a log Court House and jail, and several smaller frame houses, and two small brick houses in the town. The inhabitants of the county outside of Quincy numbered from ten to twelve hundred souls.

PEORIA, PEKIN AND JACKSONVILLE RULES

A timetable issued by the Peoria, Pekin and Jacksonville Railroad, effective November 27, 1871, lists the following stations: Peoria, Lower Peoria, Sholl's, Hollis, Pekin, Gravel Bluff, Hainesville, Manito, Union, Forest City, Bishop's, Topeka, Havana, Bath, Saidora, Chandlerville, Virginia, Little Indian, Literberry, and Jacksonville. The best time for the eighty-three-mile run was four hours and twenty-five minutes.

Here are four of the seventy-eight "Rules and Regulations" governing employees printed on the back of the timetable:

Enginemen and Firemen must look back at least every mile, to see that all is right; and in case the train becomes detached, great care must be taken to keep the forward part out of the way of the detached part, so as to prevent a collision.

The baggagemen must handle baggage carefully, and keep an accurate account in a book of all checks or baggage received and delivered at each station on the road. He must report all baggage known to be missing, and make diligent search for it. He must assist at the brakes when it does not interfere with his other duties. He will deliver all letters, packages, &c, promptly.

Brakemen must immediately apply the brakes on signal, *before wasting time by looking out;* and any brakeman who leaves his post to ride inside the cars will be discharged. One brakeman must while the train is in motion, remain on the rear car of every train. Brakemen must connect the bell cord with the engine, and through the train to the rear platform of the last car *before time of starting train.* This cord must not be unfastened, except when switching, until the train reaches its destination.

Brakemen will in approaching stations, so apply the brakes as to bring the train to a stand at a proper point, without requiring the signal from the engineman. In damp or frosty weather they must be applied sooner, to prevent running past the station.

LIBERTYVILLE DEER PARK SCHEME

Day-to-day living in Illinois a century ago required a certain amount of ingenuity and occasionally a pioneer would go beyond the limits of the ordinary. Charles A. Partridge tells about such a man in his History of Lake County, *(1902), pp. 630-31:*

Tobias Wynkoop built a log house on the creek north of Libertyville [in 1835] and made claim to a vast tract of land from the Des Plaines River west. He had come west with some means and large ideas. Making his plans to put in a full hundred acres of wheat he succeeded in plowing but ninety acres and, therefore, did no seeding whatever that year, it being too late when the remaining ten acres had been broken. Studying the habits of the deer, Mr. Wynkoop discovered that they traveled a beaten track in a single file and that they could not jump a 16-rail fence. This learned, he planted a patch of turnips, enclosed about ninety acres of land along the river with a high rail fence in which was a single opening, constructed a gate, attached a long cord by which it could be closed, and plowed a wide furrow along the usual runway of the deer clear up to the turnip patch, which was fenced off within the main enclosure. The park thus enclosed was on sections 4 and 9 in Libertyville. A house in an oak tree, reached by a ladder, served as a lookout and secreted the hunter and his dog. The cord from the gate to the deer park reached this hiding place. The scheme, which had cost so much time and labor, was a well devised one, and actually worked so well that in a short time he had about thirty deer within the enclosure. But he declared that he would not kill any until he had a hundred secured. The animals all broke out one night, apparently having rushed in a body against the fence, as several lengths were found toppled over next morning. This ended the deer park scheme.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Friendly Mission. John Candler's Letters from America, 1853-1854. (Indiana Historical Society: Indianapolis, 1951. Pp. 134.)

John Candler and three fellow English Quakers visited twenty-six of the states in 1853-1854 and placed their antislavery views before twenty-three governors. They traveled by stage from Terre Haute to Springfield, then to Chicago by rail. The description of this journey is given here briefly as being of particular interest to readers of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.* On November 3, 1853, the four Quakers left Terre Haute for Springfield:

We engaged an Extra . . . taking the control of coach and driver: and admitting only such passengers as we chose to accommodate. These American coach masters have neither law nor reason, and it is a common saying in regard to the common stage vehicles that they never leave a passenger behind. If the coach is fitted up for nine persons inside, they often crowd in twelve, and load the top with eight or ten more; and if a female passenger asks to be taken in when it is crammed with passengers, some man who has a right to his seat must give way, and go outside. By *chartering* a coach as they call it, we avoid all these annoyances.

Journeying at four and one-half miles per hour, changing horses and drivers at stations fourteen miles apart, the 156 miles to Springfield was made in two days and a night of travel. There they found a "good hotel—that is, good for this part of the world, and bed rooms with a fire in each of them."

The trip to Chicago by rail when the roads were in their infancy was more comfortable than traveling by stagecoach but less convenient. They changed railroads in Bloomington—before a depot was erected—and left the train at the bank of the Illinois River, crossed on the ferry, and walked a mile and a quarter to the town of La Salle. Sixty miles more brought them

to Joliet where they had an audience with Governor Joel A. Matteson. The trip into Chicago was delayed when another train ran into five stray oxen. The Quakers found the city "redolent of dollars and cents." At dinner next day there were nearly 200 people:

> Forty servants waited on the guests, and all was done with regularity and despatch. When the first course was removed, four waiters walked round each table; one deposited a plate, one a knife, one a silver fork, and one a spoon to each guest: all the waiters then came in together, following each other, with puddings, pies and iced creams in abundance, and a plentiful dessert. Dinners like these, served in England, are costly: here we pay only half a dollar a head.

H. E. P.

The Social History of a War-Boom Community. By Robert J. Havighurst and H. Gerthon Morgan. (Longmans, Green and Company: New York, 1951. Pp. 356. $4.00.)

In May, 1942, when the Chicago Bridge and Iron Company located its LST [Landing Ship-Tanks] shipyards in Seneca, Illinois, this village was a quiet rural community of 1,235 people, a tank town. There was no sewage system; fire protection was provided by a volunteer company equipped with a booster pump; law and order was maintained by a single policeman who was also night watchman. There was no newspaper and no motion picture theater. Recreation was primarily a "private enterprise"—boys hunted and fished and swam in the Illinois River.

Two years later Seneca counted 6,600 residents. Other thousands drove in from communities within a radius of fifty miles. Employment reached a peak of 10,600 in the summer of 1944. School attendance rose from 350 to more than 1,000.

This is an interesting and ably written case study of what happened to the people and institutions of this Midwest village as it lived out the pressures of a wartime boom, and an evaluation of its long-term effects. Problems of housing, business, education, religion, recreation, health, welfare, and government are analyzed. As a result of the boom the initiative in government passed from the village council and county board of supervisors to a series of federal agencies with consequent suspicions and frictions, which were most acute in the matter of housing administration. The writers conclude their final chapter of evaluation with the statement:

> Seneca did the war job well enough to deserve its Army-Navy award for excellence. Emergencies were met with reasonable speed, through the action of government agencies or of CBI [Chicago Bridge and Iron Co.] management. The village of Seneca played a passive, willing role; but it emerged

from the boom relatively unchanged, with the familiar basic characteristics of a Midwestern rural town.

This study, made on the field, was directed by Robert J. Havighurst, chairman of the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago. Co-author Morgan was a graduate student in the University.

Illinois State Historical Library MARY WATTERS

A History of Belleville. By Alvin Louis Nebelsick. (Township High School and Junior College: Belleville, 1951. Pp. 271. $5.00.)

This first history of Belleville is literally packed with information that will be useful to all the citizens of the community as well as to teachers and students. The first five chapters deal with the period before 1860. It is in this part that the author is at his best. His knowledge of the manners and customs of the people of the time enable him to write a story filled with wit, wisdom, and pathos.

The remaining seven chapters concern the development of the city up to the present day. Chapter VIII, on "Industry and Labor," is particularly interesting and tells the story of the early industries, the flour mills, distilleries, and breweries, and those that came later, the stove and iron businesses, the foundries, nail mills, machine shops, and other manufacturing plants. Among the other subjects are transportation, postal service, the water, police, and fire departments, public buildings, churches, and schools. These stories are complete with the names of the hundreds of people who made them possible.

The 271 pages listed for this book do not include the preface, table of contents, bibliography, and index—there are no illustrations. The publisher should be commended for a fine piece of printing. It is a volume well worth the author's seven years of patient research and the financial expenditure that have gone into its making.

The author says in his preface, "My ambition was to give a well rounded picture of Belleville," and in this he has succeeded admirably.

Belleville WILLIAM U. HALBERT

The University of Minnesota, 1851-1951. By James Gray. (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1951. Pp. xvii, 609. $3.75.)

James Gray's portrait of the University of Minnesota, which this year celebrates its centenary, does not always succeed in remaining objective but it is primarily a good story, at times anecdotal or expository, always clear and fluent.

Gray's journalistic background probably determined his choice in mak-

ing the book essentially a story of personalities. Fate permitted him to know personally all eight presidents, a situation which came about because William Watts Folwell obligingly lived to be 96, and so the book becomes a study of their administrations and their individual impact upon the university. As Gray sees it, Folwell was the idealist and seer, the far-visioned planner who was always ahead of his times and whose conception of the young institution as a congeries of professional schools was not realized until long after Folwell himself had stepped down from the presidency to become professor of political science, librarian, and state historian. George Vincent brought superlative executive skill, energy, and direction, plus the personal charm and diplomacy necessary to achieve his aims. Lotus D. Coffman was the educational statesman who held the reins of the institution in the 1920's during its most phenomenal growth. Personally less brilliant than his predecessors, he possessed a fertile mind and a breadth of outlook.

President Cyrus Northrop was the compromiser, the genial, almost avuncular ruler of a family-sized college who is remembered more for his personality than for his educational vision. Marion LeRoy Burton, president during the war years of 1917-1920, spent most of his energy in holding the university together during a critical period. Guy Stanton Ford made his most distinguished contribution during his long tenure as dean of the graduate school; his brief presidency was largely an earned climax to a brilliant educational career. Likewise Walter Coffey, long known throughout Minnesota for his work as dean of the department of agriculture, spent three years as a kind of interim appointment as the seventh president of the university. The present executive, James L. Morrill, was inaugurated in 1945.

On these men, particularly on Folwell, Vincent, and Coffman, Gray focuses his story. To him the University of Minnesota, product of many contributors and contributions, is what it is today largely because of their foresight, determination, and statesmanship. This obsession with presidential personalities sometimes alarms the reader and certainly accounts for slight distortions in the narrative. But a more serious blemish is Gray's willingness to accept every experiment as progress and every innovation as a success. One may be willing to agree that co-operative research and interdepartmental disciplines are some of the University of Minnesota's distinctive achievements. But a less enthusiastic author than Gray would not find success everywhere he looked. Surely the much discussed General College, the abortive attempt to teach English composition by laboratory methods, and the introduction of enormous lecture classes taught by help of the microphone and the amplifier (all of these, incidentally, were pet schemes of Coffman) have not been conspicuously successful.

Citizens of Illinois may take special pride in the contributions which their state university has made to its sister institution. In addition to numerous scholars who have gone from Urbana to Minneapolis, three presidents of the University of Minnesota, Coffman, Ford, and Coffey (representing respectively the fields of education, history, and agriculture), were previously members of the faculty of the University of Illinois.

University of Illinois JOHN T. FLANAGAN

The Illinois Military Tract. A Study of Land Occupation, Utilization and Tenure. By Theodore L. Carlson. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1951. Pp. 218. $2.50 paper, $3.50 cloth.)

The Military Tract is the triangular area, beginning at the mouth of the Illinois River, that lies between the Mississippi and Illinois and extends north to an east-west line through the near-center of Henry and Bureau counties. Set aside as bounty land for the soldiers of the War of 1812, it became a haven for large scale land speculators and few veterans settled there.

Settlement began in the southern tip when Illinois became a state in 1818, and moved northward first along the river boundaries, the interior getting its great influx of population with the advent of the railroads and farm machinery in the fifties. The Civil War gave an impetus to agriculture which was followed by a short depression.

Professor Carlson traces the economic development in this area to 1900, taking into account the problems of bad crops, oversupply, effect of the Crimean War, railroad rate wars, and the changes in kinds of crops produced.

Heavily footnoted, there is an excellent bibliography and an adequate index. H. E. P.

The Spur. By Ardyth Kennelly. (Julian Messner, Inc.: New York, 1951. Pp. 304. $3.00.)

The Spur is an exciting novel of the life of John Wilkes Booth. Based upon the recognized sources for the life of Booth and of the assassination of Lincoln, the author skillfully combines facts with invented dialogue.

Spoiled in his youth by his mother and adoring sister Asia, his violent temper unchecked, John Wilkes' early success on the stage and an irresistible attraction for women was offset by his love of liquor and jealousy of his actor-brother Edwin.

Booth's motives are clearly drawn and the murderer's trail is closely followed from the moment he crept into the box at Ford's Theatre and shot the President until his death in the tobacco barn twelve days later.

H. E. P.

Bates House. By Clarence E. Benadum. (Greenberg: New York, 1951. Pp. 346. $3.00.)

This melodramatic, historical novel of Civil War days is filled with action and many characters whose lives miraculously interweave. The story begins at the Bates House in Indianapolis where Lincoln, en route to his inauguration as President, is speaking from the hotel balcony. Margaret Manning, of Montgomery, Alabama, hears Lincoln speak, and is introduced. Margaret is in Indianapolis because of an inheritance left her by an uncle. Here she also meets and falls in love with a young lawyer, David Stone.

En route home, Margaret, her aunt Maude, and their Negro maid, Susie, are involved in a train wreck. An educated slave saves Margaret's life, and out of gratitude she buys him and sets him free. At home in Montgomery, because of her Northern inheritance, because she met Lincoln, and because she freed an educated Negro, Margaret is accused of being a Yankee sympathizer. She is forced to flee for her life. Jim, the Negro she freed, helps her escape. Back in Indianapolis she is considered a rebel spy!

The Knights of the Golden Circle protect her throughout the war. In a dramatic trial in Indianapolis after the war she is acquitted. The courtroom scenes are among the best in the book, probably because the author is himself an outstanding trial lawyer. The Knights of the Golden Circle figure prominently and favorably throughout the story. To judge from this volume the author is no Lincoln admirer. Lincoln appears as a seasoned politician whose words are convincing but intended to deceive—a man who "had tried many things—failed in most of them," whose "squatty first lady" embarrassed him many times, but got "what she most wanted—a President for her husband." S. A. W.

Federal Records of World War II. Vol. I: Civilian Agencies. Vol. II: Military Agencies. General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, The National Archives. (Government Printing Office: Washington, 1950, 1951. Pp. 1,073, 1,061. $2.50 per volume.)

This two-volume guide to records of the wartime activities of the federal government comprises not only a description of the records and a statement of their location but an outline of the vast and complex administrative organization which produced them. Volume I, on the civilian agencies, covers the war-created functions of the regular government departments—legislative, executive, and judicial—and such special bodies as the War Production Board, the Office of Price Administration, the War Manpower Commission. Volume II deals with the military setup both in the United States and over-

seas, and contains an index of more than 200 pages for the two volumes. In the words of Dr. Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States:

> The two-volume, 2,000-page *Federal Records, World War II* is an unprecedented undertaking in records description. The 65,000 cubic feet of valuable wartime records in the National Archives, as well as those still outside the Archives Building, are included. Never before have so many records been described so soon after their creation, nor has the government ever before had so quickly available such a guide to its experience during one of the great crises of its history.

Dr. Philip M. Hamer planned and supervised the compilation.

Illinois State Historical Library MARY WATTERS

Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939. By Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks. (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1951. Pp. 581. $6.75.)

By the "Middle West" this book title means the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota. This grouping makes Illinois something of a senior partner—the oldest in point of settlement and in statehood. Such a status, it seems, would call for a conservative role, and that is about the way it was. This does not mean that Illinois farmers were "contented" by any standards. They were just less "discontented" and they showed it by furnishing practically no leaders and originating none of the many movements that agitated this section between the turn of the century and the beginning of World War II.

The authors chose 1939 to end their study because by that time the New Deal was supposed to have succeeded in quieting many fears of the farmer. However, the period they cover saw the development of the co-operative movement, the Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau Federation, the Farm Board, and the farm bloc. It included World War I, the depression, and the farm strike.

The book traces the rise and wane of the various movements with great clarity but it does not always explain why this or that happened or failed to happen. Thus, the reader who is not an agricultural economist sometimes finds himself handicapped. H. F. R.

NEWS AND COMMENT

MEMBERS TO VOTE ON NEW DUES SCHEDULE

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society will be asked, at their annual meeting in Bloomington on October 26 and 27, to vote an increase in their annual dues from $2.00 to $3.00 and to raise the group rate for local societies from $1.00 to $1.50 per person, effective January 1, 1952. If the change is approved it will be the first raise in the dues schedule since 1930 when there was an increase from $1.00 to $2.00. The $50 life membership rate will not be affected. The increase will bring the rate of the Illinois Society up to the level existing in many other states.

The proposal was approved by the directors of the Society at a meeting held in Springfield on July 15. The step is being made necessary, they pointed out, by increased printing costs and more particularly by the fact that the General Assembly, at its 1951 session, reduced the *Journal's* printing appropriation by $6,000 for the biennium beginning with this issue. The amount of this reduction must necessarily be raised by the Society if it is to continue to publish the *Journal* as heretofore.

Those attending the Springfield meeting were: President Elmer E. Abrahamson; Directors John H. Hauberg, John W. Allen, J. Ward Barnes, Ralph E. Francis, Alexander Summers, Joseph H. Barnhart, and David V. Felts; Vice Presidents Glenn H. Seymour and C. C. Tisler; Secretary-Treasurer Harry E. Pratt; and Benjamin P. Thomas, trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library.

At the same session Past President Wayne C. Townley, who is president of the McLean County Historical Society and chairman of the State Society's annual meeting, reported on his committee's preliminary plans. When those plans are complete for the Bloomington meeting on October 26 and 27 all members will receive a program along with the necessary reservation blanks.

ADDITIONS TO THE ALFRED W. STERN CIVIL WAR COLLECTION

Among recent additions to the Alfred W. Stern Civil War Collection in the Illinois State Historical Library are two scarce volumes of reminiscences written by former Confederate soldiers. They are *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate Soldier and Staff Officer Under Johnston, Jackson, and Lee,* by McHenry Howard, and *Reminiscences of Big I,* by W. N. Wood. Other acquisitions include nine regimental histories of Ohio, Maine, Vermont and New York troops, which bring to nearly 300 its list of such volumes.

When his collection of some 2,500 books, pamphlets, and magazine articles was opened to the public on May 23, 1948, in a special section of the Historical Library, Mr. Stern said that he would set aside a fund annually to assure its continued growth. This policy has resulted in the addition of more than 330 volumes to his original gift. These are books which he had not previously acquired in more than thirty years of collecting. Combined with the previous holdings of the Historical Library this has become one of the most comprehensive Civil War collections in the country. The Library enriches the listings by the addition of new titles published.

Perhaps the largest grouping with the Stern bookplate is the 500 Civil War biographies and autobiographies. These range from books published during the conflict itself to the scholarly studies written since that time, and include, of course, the standard works on Grant, Lee, Sherman, McClellan, Jackson and Davis.

Personal narratives, those books that record the impact of civil war on the individual, number about 250. These supplement the 350 volumes concerning such social forces as temperance, humanitarianism, education, literature, sectionalism, nationalism, slavery agitation, and the growth of the Northern industrialism as opposed to the Southern plantation economy.

In addition to the Stern collection the research student interested in this period has available at the Historical Library the Henry Horner Lincoln Collection of some 5,000 items.

ILLINOIS IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Publication of the second volume of the two-volume history *Illinois in the Second World War*, by Dr. Mary Watters is expected early in 1952, according to State Historian Harry E. Pratt. Copy for the book has already gone to the printer and when completed it will be available to the public along with the first volume which was printed last year but which has not yet been released.

The subtitles of the two books are "Operation Home Front" and "The Production Front." Together they will be about a thousand pages in length, and will be illustrated by cartoons from Chicago newspapers of the war years. This is the story of what happened in Illinois from Pearl Harbor to V-J Day—from scrap drives to the "Little Steel" formula—and selective service, rationing, black markets, OPA, OPM, OCD, and all the other agencies, activities, and events of the period are appraised carefully and thoroughly.

In compiling her material Dr. Watters studied the records of civilian and government agencies, newspapers, scrapbooks, and letter files, and interviewed a number of Illinois' wartime leaders. Dr. Watters is the author of histories of Mary Baldwin and MacMurray colleges and of a history of the church in Venezuela, which has been translated into Spanish by the Venezuelan government.

Illinois in the Second World War will be attractively bound in a buff-colored cloth with light red lettering. The price of the two volumes will be $2.50 each and they may be purchased separately— only 1,500 copies will be available. Orders should be addressed to: Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield.

SUCCESSFUL SEASON FOR NEW SALEM PLAY

The performance of August 25 brought to its close a successful first season of "Forever This Land," the outdoor drama sponsored by the New Salem Lincoln League at the Kelso Hollow amphitheater of New Salem State Park.

During the eight weeks it was shown the play enjoyed steadily increasing popularity until, in the last two weeks, near-capacity audiences were the rule. On the final night the attendance was 3,100 and for the season the total was more than 52,000. This attendance, plus the good fortune that not a single performance was postponed because of the weather, enabled Miss Mary Schirding, chairman of the Lincoln League committee, to close the season with the sponsor's books "in the black."

"Forever This Land" was written especially for New Salem by Kermit Hunter, author of the Cherokee Indian pageant which has been staged for the past two years in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The drama was produced under the direction of Samuel Selden, with William McIlwinnen as associate director, and the costumes were designed by Mrs. Fairfax Walkup. The amphitheater in Kelso Hollow was enlarged to seat slightly more than 3,000, and scenery was built for half a dozen stage settings. The cast of nearly fifty was recruited from nearby communities and universities,

with Harlington Wood, Jr., Springfield attorney, in the role of Abraham Lincoln. A majority of the actors had had previous dramatic experience. The stage settings and costumes have now been put in storage to await the reopening of the play next summer.

Beginning on August 29, the Abe Lincoln Players, of Springfield, presented five nightly performances of Robert Sherwood's "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," at Kelso Hollow. This was the sixth year they had staged the 1939 Pultizer Prize play with State Representative G. William Horsley as Lincoln. The enlarged amphitheater made possible a total attendance of nearly 12,000.

HEARST HONORED AT NEW SALEM

Governor Adlai E. Stevenson was the principal speaker at ceremonies held in New Salem State Park on August 19, marking the dedication of a bronze plaque honoring the late William Randolph Hearst for his part in the preservation of the Lincoln village.

The plaque, ten by fourteen inches, is set in a limestone boulder which was dug from the hillside below the village. It is located on the north side of the walk just inside the entrance to the village. The ceremonies were sponsored by the New Salem Lincoln League of Petersburg which was represented by Miss Mary Schirding as chairman of the event.

Gov. Stevenson's talk, which tells the story of the New Salem restoration, follows:

When plans were conceived some weeks ago for the dedication of this modest memorial there was no thought, of course, that death would remove from the American scene the man in whose honor this plaque has been cast and in whose memory it is being erected today here in New Salem.

Yet it is all the more fitting that we should call public attention to the generosity of William Randolph Hearst whose gift of this site made possible the unique historical restoration that has been carried out here in the last two decades.

The memorial plaque to be unveiled this afternoon and which will hereafter stand at the entrance of this park bears this inscription:

> The New Salem Lincoln League dedicates this memorial in honor of William Randolph Hearst who, in 1906, purchased the site of New Salem for the Old Salem Chautauqua Association. In 1918, with the consent of Mr. Hearst, this tract was transferred to the State of Illinois, thereby fostering the restoration of the village where Lincoln lived from 1831 to 1837. Erected August 19, 1951.

It is appropriate that the New Salem Lincoln League should thus perpetuate the record of those early events that led to the creation of New Salem.

Most of you know how Mr. Hearst, then a member of Congress, came

here in 1906 to speak during the annual season of the Old Salem Chautauqua Association, then recognized as one of the leading chautauquas in the nation. It was on that visit that he was shown the site of the village where Lincoln lived as a young man, an almost forgotten site overgrown with weeds and undergrowth and in a sorry state of neglect. It was then that he conceived the idea of reclaiming this land for posterity, of acquiring it by private purchase for development as a historical shrine.

Mr. Hearst bought this site of some 62 acres for about $11,000 and gave the title to the Old Salem Chautauqua Association. Twelve years later, in 1918, the New Salem Lincoln League had been formed to develop public interest and support for the restoration of the village of New Salem. Through the League's efforts the site was transferred to the State of Illinois with the consent of Mr. Hearst.

In 1931 the Legislature made the first appropriation of $50,000 to begin the reconstruction of the buildings and to acquire authentic furnishings for them. Governor Emmerson took a personal interest in the enterprise. It was he who signed the first appropriation bill, and it was during his administration that the restoration project was started.

Then, under the personal leadership of Governor Henry Horner, the enterprise was carried forward with vigor during the 30's. Governor Horner's interest in the places and events associated with Lincoln's life was avid, and that interest was a prime factor in the success of the undertaking. Governor Horner concerned himself personally with the progress of the work. As many of you know, he made frequent visits to New Salem, watching the progress of the reconstruction, contributing both helpful suggestions and inspiration to those charged with carrying out the work. During this period Governor Horner was instrumental in obtaining the assistance of the federal government through the CCC and the WPA, assistance that made possible the completion of the painstaking reconstruction of the structures and the atmosphere of the Lincoln era.

Today New Salem stands as one of the great historical restorations in all America, rivaled only by the colonial village at Williamsburg, Virginia. It has become a national shrine that attracts annually scores of thousands of visitors from every state and nation. It is an achievement which stirs the pride of every Illinoisan, and certainly it is one of our richest historical assets.

But the value of New Salem lies not alone in its historical authenticity or its commercial benefit to the area round about. Its worth lies most of all in enlarging our appreciation and understanding of the American heritage. No one can visit these scenes of Lincoln's early life without sensing the majesty of spirit and faith, the physical and spiritual courage which sustained those early pioneers and helped them to endure the rigors and the hardships of frontier life. This lesson of faith in the future of Illinois and our United States, this example of courage in the face of hardship and uncertainties, is important to us today, bent as we are with the anxieties and tensions which destiny has thrust upon our generation.

My own interest in New Salem is quite personal. My grandfather spoke here in 1902 at the Old Salem Chautauqua. I don't know what he said, but the records of the State Historical Library contain handbills advertising that he would talk about the history of Illinois and the dramatic devel-

opment of this great domain in the Middle West. Even then, a half century ago, there was a lot to talk about. But if he could only see, if Mr. Hearst could only see, all that has happened since, here at New Salem and in Illinois!

And so I am grateful that I could come here today, to follow in my grandfather's footsteps, to stand on ground hallowed by the presence of many of the greatest figures in American history, and to participate in the dedication of this memorial. It will stand for all time as a monument to the memory of Mr. Hearst who devoted much of his energies, and the influence of his newspapers, to encouraging a deeper awareness and appreciation of the heritage which is the proud possession of every American.

I am certain that had he lived to see it, Mr. Hearst would have been even prouder of his part in the establishment of this splendid park and this authentic reminder of our heroic past. I think he would see here in New Salem the realization of his vision of a half century ago. And I shall always regret that he could not witness "Forever This Land"—the dramatic history of this village which, thanks to one man, will never die. I think he would like it. I think he would approve this humble spot as the proper site for an American passion play—a reminder of the humility of greatness in men and nations.

And may I conclude with my thanks as a citizen of Illinois to the New Salem Lincoln League whose tireless efforts have borne at last such precious fruit for all of us.

TWO HISTORICAL MARKERS DEDICATED

A plaque marking the site of "Pimiteoui" and naming the other forts and settlements of Peoria was dedicated on July 1. Ernest E. East, past president of both the Peoria and Illinois State Historical Societies, delivered the principal address at ceremonies sponsored by both societies, at Grand View Park, Peoria. Dr. Harry E. Pratt spoke on the statewide program to mark historical sites. Other speakers included Philip Horton, president, and E. C. Bessler, treasurer of the Peoria Historical Society. The Rev. Charles Clifford, of St. Peter's Catholic Church, gave the invocation and Mrs. Walter C. Tally was in charge of the singing.

The marker itself is made of aluminum and has yellow lettering on a blue background. The text on the plaque reads:

Pimiteoui meaning "Fat Lake," Illinois Indian name for Peoria Lake. Here passed Jolliet and Marquette in 1673. Established near the lake were Ft. Crèvecoeur, 1680; Ft. St. Louis, 1691-92; Old Peorias Fort and Village, 1730; Peorias, 1776; Ft. Clark, 1813; French Trading House "Opa Post," before 1818. Americans settled on the site of the City of Peoria in 1819.

A Historical Society marker honoring Jane Addams, was dedicated at Cedarville on August 11, Old Settlers' Day. It is located about 500 feet north of the edge of Cedarville on the west side of State Route 26. The lettering reads:

Cedarville/ Birthplace of Jane Addams, 1860-1935/ Humanitarian, Feminist, Social Worker, Reformer, Educator, Author, Publicist. Founder of Hull House, Pioneer Settlement Center, Chicago, 1889. President, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Nobel Peace Prize, 1931. Erected by the Illinois State Historical Society, 1951.

THREE HISTORY AWARDS FOR ILLINOIS

The Kankakee County Historical Society, the Civil War Round Table of Chicago, and the *Ottawa Republican-Times* were cited at the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History as the best in their respective fields in the five states of the Old Northwest Territory.

The Kankakee Society was honored for its work in establishing and maintaining a local historical museum and for its active promotional program in the schools. Among those principally responsible for this recognition are Ralph E. Francis, president of the Society and a director of the Illinois State Historical Society; Mrs. Fannie Still, secretary and curator of the museum; Len Small, III, and Harold Simmons.

The Civil War Round Table was cited as an outstanding and unusual historical organization. Its meetings—the one hundredth was held in December, 1950—attract the Midwest's leading students of Lincoln and the Civil War.

The *Ottawa Republican-Times* award was for the publication of numerous articles on local history written by C. C. Tisler, who is a member of the paper's staff and also a vice president of the Illinois State Historical Society.

FATHER MARQUETTE MEMORIAL

On the afternoon of October 14, a memorial to Father Jacques Marquette will be dedicated at Utica. Not far from there Father Marquette chanted the first Easter Mass in Illinois in April, 1675.

Samuel Cardinal Stritch, of Chicago, will dedicate the memorial on the lawn of St. Mary's Church. The Rev. Martin H. Coughlin is pastor of St. Mary's. In the morning, Bishop Martin McNamara, of Joliet, will chant a field mass at an altar to be erected in Starved Rock State Park, and the sermon will be preached by Bishop Joseph H. Schlarman, of Peoria.

The Illinois Valley Council of the Knights of Columbus has arranged the memorial erection and its dedication.

OLD ILLINOIS NEWSPAPERS FOUND IN COLORADO

Two volumes of a Fairfield, Illinois, newspaper for the years 1866-1869, were found this summer in the basement of the *Rocky Ford Enterprise,* a weekly in Colorado, and sent to the Illinois State Historical Library for safe-

keeping by Dan Gutleben, of San Francisco. Gutleben was doing research on the sugar beet industry and had used the Historical Library's files in 1949. The Fairfield paper was known as the *War Democrat* until 1866 when the name was changed to the *Wayne County Press,* which is its present-day title.

HISTORICAL LIBRARY EXHIBITS

A variety of exhibits has been displayed in the past few months in the Horner-Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library. Among these are: the centennial of the Illinois Central Railroad and Lincoln's association with the corporation, notable Lincoln books of 1950, Lincoln medals and badges, sheet music honoring Lincoln, juvenile books on Lincoln, an exhibit centering around the new book of Robert G. Ingersoll's letters (edited by his granddaughter, Eva Ingersoll Wakefield), and some of the Historical Library's recently acquired Lincoln manuscripts. More recently shown were letters from all thirty-two Presidents of the United States and letters and documents from the Library's collection of General John A. McClernand's papers.

The W. H. Tallman house in Janesville, Wisconsin, where Lincoln spent the night of October 1, 1859, has become the home of the Rock County Historical Society. Formal dedication ceremonies were held on June 23. Dr. Robert K. Richardson made the principal address. Dr. Richardson is professor emeritus of Beloit College and a former president of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

The "Abe Lincoln Caravan" of private pilots from Wisconsin and Illinois toured Illinois historic shrines June 9-10. Thirty-five planes carrying approximately one hundred people made the tour, which included New Salem State Park, the Robert Allerton estate near Monticello, and Starved Rock State Park. The caravan was sponsored by the Illinois and Wisconsin State Historical Societies, and the two states' departments of aeronautics.

Elmo Scott Watson, journalist and teacher, died in Denver, Colorado, on May 5. He was chairman of the journalism department of the University of Denver at the time of his death. Professor Watson, a native of McLean County, was born at Colfax in 1892. He taught in the University of Illinois' school of journalism from 1918 to 1924 when he joined the staff of the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University. From 1947 to 1950 he was part-time professor of journalism at Illinois Wesleyan University in Bloomington and was the author of *The Illinois Wesleyan Story, 1850-1950.*

Linda Weber Stephenson, of Fort Worth, Texas, daughter of Jessie Palmer Weber, who was for many years secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society and librarian of the State Historical Library, died in Springfield, Missouri, on May 20, 1951.

Mrs. Stephenson, a granddaughter of Governor John M. Palmer, was educated in Springfield, Illinois, but had spent most of her married life in Fort Worth. She was buried in her mother's family lot in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois, on May 23.

Richard J. Barr, of Joliet, former state senator, died on June 11, at the age of eighty-six. First elected to the upper house of the Illinois General Assembly in 1902, he served continuously until he retired after the 1949-1950 session.

In the words of Governor Stevenson, "All of Illinois will mourn the death of Senator Barr, of Joliet, whose long public service made him both a beloved patriarch and a national symbol of Illinois." Carl Tolpo's oil painting of Mr. Barr hangs in the Senate Chamber.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Members of the Alton Area Historical Society, on Sunday, May 20, visited several old cemeteries near Alton where many pioneers and Revolutionary War veterans are buried. They visited the Vaughn Cemetery, Godfrey Cemetery, and the Alton City Cemetery. The latter contains the graves of Elijah Lovejoy and Colonel Stephen H. Long, Rocky Mountain explorer for whom Long's Peak is named.

The Augustana Historical Society's annual spring pilgrimage had Galesburg as its objective on May 20. The group attended services at First Lutheran Church which is celebrating its centennial this year. Knox College, Trinity Lutheran Church, and the Carl Sandburg cottage were among other places visited.

The Society publishes a book of historical interest annually. This summer the volume was *Swedish Theater in Chicago,* by Dr. Henriette C. K. Naeseth.

Officers of the Aurora Historical Society are: A. J. Meiers, president; Lorin S. Hill, first vice-president; Mrs. Arthur F. Muschler, second vice-president; Bess M. Lockhart, secretary; Dorothy A. Simpson, membership secretary; Eleanor Plain, treasurer; Clarence R. Smith, museum director; and Alice Humiston Applegate, curator. In June the Society held its third annual "award

banquet." Awards were presented to Society members who have done outstanding work for the organization during the past year. Slides made of the museum exhibits by Vernon Derry also were shown.

Bureau County Historical Society officers, elected in June, are: Frank Grisell, president; Mrs. E. L. Whitney, vice-president; Mrs. Blanche Bruton, secretary and curator; Mrs. C. G. Heck, secretary of the board of directors; Mrs. Robert Zearing, corresponding secretary; Roger Eickmeier, treasurer; and Mrs. Frank R. Bryant, assistant curator. New directors are: Mrs. Heck, Scott Lyford, Mrs. Eva E. Howard, E. F. Norton, B. N. Stevens, and Mrs. Paul Fredenhagen.

The historic Church of the Holy Family at Cahokia was re-dedicated on Memorial Day with a solemn pontifical high Mass. The Most Rev. Albert R. Zuroweste, bishop of the Belleville diocese, officiated, assisted by a large number of priests. The Mass was followed by a dinner for the clergy and benefactors in the restoration project. The work of restoring the church began several years ago in preparation for the 250th anniversary of Cahokia. (See *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for September, 1949, pages 330-39.)

"Museum Mornings," a recently inaugurated program of the Chicago Historical Society, have already been attended by more than 7,000 elementary school children. The programs are intended to supplement the pupils' social studies.

This past summer the Society had a special exhibit in honor of the centennial of the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. First editions of the book in many languages were shown.

Tuesday morning "movies" throughout the summer months offered students a pleasant and exciting way to study our country's history. Some of the films shown were: "Lewis and Clark, Explorers of the Great West," "Andrew Jackson, Hero of New Orleans," and "Frémont and the California Gold Rush."

The annual tea of the Chicago Lawn Historical Society was held on Sunday, May 6. The occasion also marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of the community's first subdivision by Dr. John F. Eberhart in 1876. Mrs. Grace Herschberger, Dr. Eberhart's daughter, was among the early residents who attended the tea. Richard O. Helwig is president of the group and the program was arranged by Mrs. Lida P. Karcher and Lila P. Jackson.

The Rev. Ray Bond spoke at the May meeting of the South Shore (Chicago) Historical Society. His subject was, "The Joys of Yesterday." Everett M. Lee read a paper on "The History of 79th Street."

The West Side (Chicago) Historical Society heard Louis R. Quinlan speak, on May 2, on the Congress Expressway, and George W. McLester talk on the West Side Medical Center. For the spring tour in June Society members followed the route of the express highway. They also visited Hull House, the West Side Medical Center, and several housing projects.

Members and friends of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) heard George W. Hennessy tell the story of the Illinois Central Railroad at the group's meeting in May. The railroad and Woodlawn have been closely related throughout the one hundred years of the Illinois Central.

The DuPage County Historical Society was among the organizations which observed the centennial of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* At a joint meeting held in May with the Friends of the Elmhurst Public Library, Society members heard Dr. J. Christian Bay speak on *"Uncle Tom's Cabin* After a Hundred Years." Dr. Bay also showed some of the early editions of the book. Fred Evers exhibited Harriet Beecher Stowe materials, and a display on the abolition movement in DuPage County was arranged by the *DuPage Historical Review.*

On June 17 the Society honored citizens of the county for patriotic, civic, and historical work. Life memberships in the Society were presented this year to Philip R. Clarke and Frank O. Butler of Hinsdale, and Mrs. Luther J. Hiatt of Glen Ellyn. H. A. Berens is president of the group. Mr. Berens read a poem he had written honoring Judge Frank Earl Herrick, DuPage County poet and historian.

The Edwards County Historical Society heard Alice Bradshaw and Mrs. Virginia Strawn Skinner speak on John James Audubon in June. Marion Benson's collection of bird eggs and nests was on display at this meeting.

The Edwardsville Chapter of the Madison County Historical Society joined American Legion Post 199 on Memorial Day in dedicating a historical marker in Lusk Cemetery. The chapter is compiling a list of all burials in the cemetery. Anyone having relatives interred there should write to Mrs.

Julian Valette, of Edwardsville. In June Mrs. Vallette spoke to the chapter on "Quilts and Counterpanes of Early American Women."

Officers of the Edwardsville unit are: Mrs. W. H. Morgan, president; Mrs. I. O. West, vice-president; Mrs. Julian Vallette, secretary; Mrs. David Fiegenbaum, treasurer; and Mrs. V. H. Mindrup, historian.

Officers of the Evanston Historical Society are: H. Dyer Bent, president; Miss Marion Carpantier, vice-president; Mildred Crew, secretary; George H. Tomlinson, treasurer. Mrs. Robert S. De Golyer was named curator of the Society's museum succeeding Mrs. Gwen Roney, who resigned because of illness. Directors of the Society are: Gray C. Boyce, Marion Carpantier, Isaac Joslin Cox, Harry P. Pearsons, Harry L. Wells, Ray A. Billington, Mrs. Dwight F. Clark, Mildred Crew, William Swift Lord, Andre Nielsen, H. Dyer Bent, Chauncey G. Hobart, Mrs. George A. Paddock, Walter T. Stockton, and George H. Tomlinson.

The annual meeting of the Galena Historical Society was held on June 4. Virginia Carroll reported on the Kankakee conference of historical societies on May 5. Directors elected at this meeting include: Mrs. H. L. Heer, Mrs. F. T. Sheean, J. T. Hissem, Virginia Carroll, and Thomas McCarthy. The Society began its fourteenth year on June 1.

The Geneva Historical Society's annual meeting was held on May 20. Mrs. Margaret Allan, secretary, summarized the activities of the organization for the past year. Mrs. Frank Peck read a paper on the "Geneva Improvement Association." W. K. Bullock gave a report on the Big Spring, later known as Herrington Spring, after which members went to the spring site for the dedication of a boulder to mark the spot. The spring was the location of the first permanent settlement in Geneva. This is the first marker to be erected in Geneva by the Society.

Officers of the association for the coming year are: Charles H. Lyttle, president; Mary L. Wheeler, first vice-president; Myrtle McIntosh, second vice-president; Mrs. Margaret Allan, secretary; Jeanita Peterson, treasurer. Directors chosen for three years include: Alice Swarthout and Alvar Lindahl.

Officers of the Glencoe Historical Society are: Mrs. Christopher K. Beebe, president; Mrs. John A. Grant, vice-president; Louis H. Hein, treasurer; Mrs. George R. Young, social chairman; Helen Beckwith, custodian; Mrs. H. T. Booth, historical records; and F. L. Holmes, publicity.

A temporary organization, the Knoxville Historical Society, has been formed for the purpose of restoring the first courthouse of Knox County, and the hall of records which has long been used as the Knoxville Public Library. Officers of the organization are: Mrs. Irving Garcelon, chairman; Wayne Rosine, co-chairman; Lola Bowman, secretary; Gene F. Hebard, treasurer; and Mrs. Mary Creighton and Mrs. C. E. Bennison, publicity.

The Madison County Historical Society held its spring meeting in Bethalto on May 6 with J. T. McGaughey as the principal speaker. His subject was, "Some Facts Concerning the Early History of Bethalto." Donald Lewis is president of the group.

At the Mattoon Historical Society's fourth annual dinner meeting on May 10, Carlton J. Corliss spoke on the history of the Illinois Central Railroad. R. Harvey Wright, president of the Society, presided.

W. L. Castleman is president of the Maywood Historical Society. Other officers are: Minerva Kaapke, vice-president; Vernell C. Dammeier, vice-president in charge of historical records; E. P. Benjamin, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Eda Westcott, chairman of fact-finding committee; and Mrs. Marguerite Nichols Edlund, social chairman.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt was the principal speaker at the April dinner meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society. Dr. Pratt talked on the increasing knowledge of Lincoln. Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president of the Society, presided. Historical essay awards were made to grade and high school students.

A colorful one-hour parade in Evanston on June 2 and a pageant at Dyche Stadium June 7, 8, and 9, were part of Northwestern University's centennial celebration. Herbert O. Brayer, professor of history at Northwestern, wrote the pageant.

The Oak Park Historical Society, organized in 1937 and chartered in 1941, now has a membership of sixty. The group meets regularly three times a year on the third Thursdays in May, October, and February at the South Branch of the Oak Park Public Library.

Principal officers of the Society are: Thomas Doane, president; Mrs. James W. Wilson, first vice-president; Mrs. J. C. Miller, second vice-president; Mrs. Frank W. Anderman, recording secretary; Mrs. Louis Soyer, treasurer; Jennie Larson, corresponding secretary. Directors are: Frank W. Stevens, Mrs. George W. White, Frank W. Anderman.

Officers of the Peoria Historical Society elected at the group's May meeting are: Philip Horton, president; Harry L. Spooner, vice-president; Mrs. Edna Reichelderfer, secretary; E. C. Bessler, treasurer. Directors named include: Emma E. Shriner, Ray Brons, and Philip Becker, Jr. The principal speaker in May was C. C. Burford of Urbana. His subject was, "The Historic County Seats of the Peoria Area."

The Piatt County Historical Society elected the following officers on June 19: Frank Wrench, president; J. K. Felts, vice-president; Mrs. Zola M. Donahoe, recording secretary and treasurer; Calvin W. Adams, executive secretary; and Lena Bragg, librarian. The directors named are: William J. Henebry, Lena Bragg, Mrs. T. J. Foster, Francis Brooks, Henry Dighton, and William T. Lodge.

Officers of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County, elected at the annual meeting on June 1, include: George Irwin, president; James W. Carrott, first vice-president; Oliver B. Williams, second vice-president; William J. Dieterich, recording secretary; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; Mrs. Leaton Irwin, librarian; Augusta Buerkin, corresponding secretary; Julius Kespohl, auditor.

Last year 1,082 people visited the Society's beautiful museum building. Among recently acquired treasures is a silver trophy awarded in 1890 to a Quincy baseball team, the Ravens. The Ravens won the championship of the Interstate League for two years. Mrs. Louis George Ost, of Quincy, widow of the president of the Ravens, and her daughters, Mrs. Hazel Burket also of Quincy, and Mrs. Clyde McNay of St. Louis, presented the trophy to the Society.

Officers of the Rock Island County Historical Society elected at the annual meeting on May 24 are: O. Fritiof Ander, president; John H. Hauberg, honorary president; C. R. Rosborough, first vice-president; Clarence Skinner, second vice-president; Mrs. Clair Golden, treasurer; Helen Marshall, archivist; Julia Mallete, secretary. Those elected to the board of directors are: Frank

Morgan, O. L. Nordstrom, Charles C. Ainsworth, Alice Williams, Carl E. Mitchell, and P. J. Martin. Mrs. C. E. Stephenson, Dr. Frank H. First, and R. W. Olmsted were named to the advisory committee. Before the meeting the group toured the Rock Island Arsenal and grounds and heard talks on the history of the various points—the Confederate cemetery, the activities of David B. Sears who once owned part of the island, the old Davenport home, the bridge, and the railroad.

A new diorama has been added to the museum of the St. Charles Historical Society. It is entitled, "The First Railroad," and was constructed by seventh and eighth grade students. The Society's dioramas, which have been made by junior high school boys and girls, portray in miniature outstanding events in the history of St. Charles.

The Saline County Historical Society held its April meeting at the Old Town School near Stonefort. Mrs. Florence Hancock spoke on old maps in the Missouri Historical Society Library. Plans were also discussed for repairing the old road leading to the Old Stone Fort. On July 12, the Society held an all day "picnic and work day" and the members pitched in and fixed it!

Shawnee Forest Supervisor Ed Lee spoke to the group in May. He told of the work of the forest service in southern Illinois and showed colored slides. T. Leo Dodd spoke in tribute to Ernest Gates, B. D. Gates, and Mrs. Talitha Aaron.

Announcement was made at the June meeting that Dr. D. A. Lehman had donated land for a historical museum and library. The program which followed was in charge of J. Ward Barnes who introduced six of his American history students. Each presented a paper on historical people and places of southern Illinois. Colored slides made by the students were also shown.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society met in June at Cave-in-Rock State Park. Following a fish-fry dinner Dr. William Aeschbacher spoke on, "Early Life on the Ohio." Officers elected at this annual spring meeting include: Norman W. Caldwell, president; C. C. Kerr, first vice-president; Mrs. Ida Choisser, second vice-president; John W. Allen, third vice-president; and W. S. Burkhart, secretary-treasurer. In July, led by William Farley and Fred Wasson, the group took its twenty-first annual tour of the Illinois Ozarks.

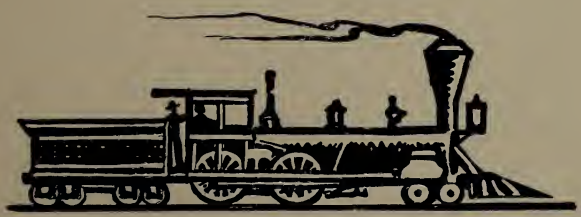
The Stephenson County Historical Society held its Summer Frolic on August 8 at its museum, the former Oscar Taylor mansion. For entertainment

there was square dancing, color motion pictures, fortune telling, strolling minstrels, barbershop quartet singing, and a special exhibit of rare coins. Also, refreshments were served. The Society has had a beautiful sketch of its building put on ten-inch souvenir dinner plates which it is selling to help finance the museum. The sketch was made by Mrs. John Alden Riner of Freeport.

Officers of the Stephenson County Society are: Mrs. William W. Zeiders, president; John L. Held, first vice-president; Mrs. Robert F. Koenig, second vice-president; Philip L. Keister, secretary; Mrs. S. E. Raines, treasurer.

A three-generation art show was held at the museum in May. The artists were Mrs. Robert E. Park of Chicago; her daughter, Mrs. Donald L. Breed of Freeport; and Mrs. Breed's daughter, Sylvia. The paintings of Mrs. Breed and her daughter were largely of Freeport scenes and people, but Mrs. Park's work, in pastel chalks, was principally of studies in Africa and Asia.

At the Winnetka Historical Society's annual meeting on May 2 in the Winnetka Woman's Club, members and friends of the Society saw two short plays. Under the direction of Mrs. Ernst Benkert these plays were: "Trouble in the Cellar," by Muriel Eldridge, and "The Still Alarm," by George Kaufman. Officers elected at this meeting include: Samuel S. Otis, president; Frederick H. Bird, vice-president; Mrs. Kenneth Mullins, secretary; Harold D. Hill, treasurer; and Kenneth Mullins, director, 1951-1954.



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WINTER 1951

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THE CHEROKEE CROSS EGYPT

BY SCERIAL THOMPSON

HUNDREDS of thousands of words have been written in poignant passages of history about the tragic removal of the Cherokee Nation eight hundred miles from its home in Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia to lands west of the Mississippi.[1] All too little, however, is known or recorded of the daily occurrences during the bitter winter of 1838-1839 when some 8,000 were caught between the floating ice of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in that part of Illinois which, even at that early date, was known as Egypt.

The failure of those most intimately concerned to record the travail of the Cherokee was regretted even during the weeks the trek was taking place. Lucy A. Butler, on January 26, 1839, wrote to John Howard Payne,[2]

If some one to gather facts could have been placed among us from the

[1] See Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, Okla., 1932), hereafter cited as Foreman; Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1887), cited hereafter as Royce; James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1900), cited hereafter as Mooney.

[2] Payne was writing a history of the Cherokee. His unfinished manuscript and the Butler letter are in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

Scerial Thompson, a former director and past president of the Illinois State Historical Society (1949-1950) has also been secretary of the Saline County Historical Society and president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society. He was active in promoting the highly successful Saline County Centennial celebration in October, 1947. He is the author of numerous articles, has done much research about this tragic Indian pilgrimage, and has an extensive library on the Cherokee Nation.

23 of May til the last of the Cherokees set their faces toward the West, then followed on with them to behold their misery and sorrows on their journey, the knowledge thus gained would be of unspeakable value to place before the public.

Terse reports of Army officers, accounts by accompanying physicians, and occasional letters from the emigrants are available to record some of the early migrations made willingly by "Treaty Cherokee"[3] before 1838, but very little of this relates to the part southern Illinois played in the historic event. The one excellent exception comes from the pen of Daniel S. Butrick, a devout missionary sent to the Cherokee by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who traveled with the emigrants to their new home in the West.[4]

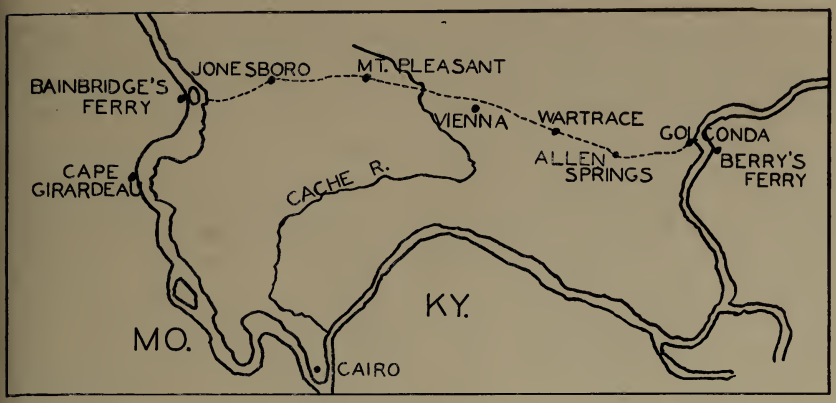
The situation in the lands west of the Mississippi was not unknown to the Cherokee Nation East. A permanent Cherokee settlement had been made in the West as early as 1794, and there had always been much travel between the two sections. At least two thousand "Treaty Cherokee" had emigrated prior to 1838 and many letters had passed back and forth. In the course of this traveling the land route between the East and West nations, which ran from Nashville, Tennessee, to Hopkinsville, Kentucky, Golconda, Illinois, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and then followed the Missouri Ridge Road, became well known and was frequently used.

The route across southern Illinois was blazed first in 1803 by Major James Lusk, who, with his wife Sarah, emigrated from South Carolina and founded the town of Sarahsville, later named Golconda.[5] The Lusks settled on the Kentucky side of the Ohio in 1796 and were granted a license from that state to operate a ferry in 1797. The next year they moved across the river and became the first settlers in this section of

[3] These Indians were emigrating voluntarily in accordance with the New Echota, or Schermerhorn, Treaty of 1835.

[4] The "Journal of Daniel S. Butrick" is in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. It is unpaged, so future references to it are given by dates.

[5] Josephine C. Thompson, "James and Sarah Lusk," *The Egyptian Key,* Vol. II, no. 3 (Carbondale, Ill., June, 1945), 17-21.



WHERE THE CHEROKEE CROSSED EGYPT

From Berry's ferry on the Ohio River to Bainbridge's ferry on the Mississippi was a distance of less than sixty miles. The dotted line is a close approximation of the route of the exiled Indians, although all contingents did not follow exactly the same road. Allen Springs was about a mile southwest of present-day Dixon Springs.

Illinois. To make business for his ferry Lusk blazed the trail west from Golconda to reach the David Green ferry near Cape Girardeau. This road from Lusk's ferry, later to be operated by John Berry, was the shortest and best route across Egypt. Ironically, Major Lusk died just after it was completed. When Illinois was admitted into the Union, and as settlements in the southern part of the state multiplied there were many roads laid out, but most of those leading west followed the general route blazed by Lusk.[6]

In 1838, the road from Golconda veered slightly to the southwest to avoid the hills due west and the cypress swamps farther south. Then it passed through Allen Springs, near the present Dixon Springs, thence through Wartrace to the plateau west of Vienna. From there it went to Mt. Pleasant and Jonesboro where it turned southwest to the Mississippi at Bainbridge's ferry, slightly north of Cape Girardeau.

[6] An account of early roads in Johnson County may be found in Mrs. P. T. Chapman, *A History of Johnson County, Illinois* (Herrin, Ill., 1925), 42-50.

A number of parties of "Treaty Cherokee" had emigrated to the West both by the river route and overland through Arkansas prior to 1838, but the first detachment to pass through southern Illinois was a party under the direction of B. B. Cannon.[7] This group numbered 365 and was organized to leave the Cherokee Nation East on October 14, 1837. Although they made the journey relatively free of the misery that befell those who followed the next year, fifteen deaths occurred on the trip.[8] The party reached Berry's ferry, on the Kentucky side of the Ohio at Golconda, on November 6, 1837, but, because of high wind, they were unable to cross until the next day. Cannon's report of the trip across Egypt is short and terse:

Nov. 7, 1837. Commenced ferrying at ½ past 5 o/c A. M. Moved the Party as it crossed one mile out and encamped. Completed crossing 4 o/c P. M. all safely. Issued corn, fodder, corn meal & bacon. 1 mile to-day.

Nov. 8th, 1837. Marched at 8 o/c A. M. Mr. Reese and myself remained behind and buried a child of Seabolt's. Overtook the Party, halted and encamped at Big Bay, 4 o/c P. M. Issued corn & fodder. James Starr & wife left this morning with two carryalls to take care of and bring on three of their children who were too sick to travel, with instructions to overtake the party as soon as possible without endangering the lives of their children—15 miles to-day.

Nov. 9th, 1837. Marched at 8 o/c A. M. Halted and encamped at Cash Creek, ½ past 4 o/c P. M.[9] Issued corn, fodder, corn meal & bacon. 15 miles to-day.

Nov. 10th, 1837. Marched at 8 o/c A. M. were detained two hours on the way making a bridge across a small creek. Halted at Cypress creek, 4 o/c P. M. encamped and issued corn, fodder & salt. 14 miles to-day.

Nov. 11th, 1837. Marched at 8 o/c A. M. passed through Jonesboro, Ill. Halted and encamped at Clear Creek, in the Mississippi river bottom, ½ past 3 o/c P. M. Issued corn & fodder, corn meal & bacon—13 miles to-day. Issued sugar & coffee to waggoners & interpreters.[10]

Nov. 12th, 1837. Marched at 8 o/c A. M. arrived at Mississippi river, 10 o/c A. M. Commenced ferrying, at 11 o/c A. M. directed the party to move

[7] "Journal of B. B. Cannon," National Archives, Emigrant Cherokees, File G-553.
[8] "Dr. G. S. Townsend's Report," *ibid.*, File T-241.
[9] This was Cache Creek, but it is pronounced as Cannon spelled it.
[10] It is obvious from Cannon's account that the party did not pass through Vienna, but traveled to the south of the town. This was an old road before Vienna was founded.

a short distance as they crossed the river, and encamp. Issued corn & fodder. Starr came up, the health of his children but little better. Richard Timberlake and George Ross overtook us and enrolled and attached themselves to Starr's family.

Nov. 13th, 1837. Continued ferrying from 7 o/c until 10 o/c A. M. when the wind arose and checked our progress. 3 o/c P. M. Resumed and made one trip. Suspended at 5 o/c P. M. Issued corn & fodder, corn meal & bacon. Buried another of Duck's children to-day.

Nov. 14th, 1837. Crossed the residue of the party.

Cannon was a methodical and stern taskmaster. He got the party under way promptly every morning, and spent less than eight days in crossing Illinois.

By 1838 some 2,100 Cherokee had been removed in accordance with the Treaty of New Echota. But early in that year it became apparent that the Nation's remaining 15,000 members were in complete agreement with their Principal Chief John Ross and did not intend to emigrate until forced to do so. Accordingly, on April 6, 1838, General Winfield Scott was ordered to use troops to insure their departure.

In carrying out his order Scott erected thirteen stockades where the soldiers were to gather every Cherokee who could be found. The story of the loss of property, suffering, misery, and death caused by this mass arrest has frequently been related. While it is thought that some 15,000 were collected in the camps, there was total disagreement among Ross and the Army officers as to the number who actually made the trip.

A few detachments were removed under direction of the Army early in the summer of 1838, but they experienced such terrific hardships arising from the extreme drought, the lowness of water in the rivers, and the almost universal illness of the Indians, that the removal was temporarily suspended until later in the year. It had been planned to use the river route entirely, but as early as May 29, 1838, Lieutenant Edward Deas, an old hand at Indian removal, submitted an urgent report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommending that they fol-

low the land route and go through southern Illinois. He wrote:

> Having had a great deal of experience upon the subject of removal of Indians, and as there appears to be a difference of opinion as to the best mode of conducting the approaching emigration . . . there is a good road from the Cherokee Country East to the West of the Mississippi passing through Hopkinsville, Golconda on the Ohio river . . . it would seem to me the fairest way to leave it to the Indians themselves.[11]

As a result of the distress and misery they had already suffered in the stockades the Cherokee requested that General Scott permit them to move under the direction of their own chiefs, promising in return to guarantee discipline. Scott agreed, providing they would also guarantee to be started by October 20. John Ross made arrangements for the removal. His brother, Lewis, contracted to furnish subsistence along the route and agents were sent ahead to buy huge quantities of corn and provisions which were stored for use of the emigrants. The Indians gathered in the stockades were divided into thirteen detachments, each in charge of a native conductor and an assistant conductor.[12] A physician and interpreters were assigned to each party and careful plans were formed to make possible the removal with a minimum of difficulty. It was expected that each detachment would contain as near one thousand Indians as possible. The leaders were the most influential chiefs and the most prominent figures of the Nation.

The first detachment began to enroll for the journey on August 28, 1838, and the twelfth began its recruiting on October 23.[13] The thirteenth group, of which John Ross was a member, was the smallest and the last to leave. It went by the water route and was not among those on the road.

Claims made by Ross for compensation give the number of days the conductor of each detachment was employed and a

[11] National Archives, Emigrant Cherokees, File D-225.

[12] Some writers state that each detachment had two conductors, but Ross claimed compensation for only one conductor and an assistant conductor. House of Representatives, Twenty-seventh Congress, Third Session, Report 288, hereafter cited as HR 288.

[13] Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), 103, hereafter cited as Starr.

lesser number of days that forage was required for the horses.[14] Presumably this smaller figure was the actual number of days on the trail—except for the first detachment when his conductor-days and forage-days are the same, 143. On the basis of these forage claims the journey required from 93 to 143 days—while the conductors were paid for 106 to 189 days.

The first contingent to leave the East started on October 1, the others following at intervals of several days to a week for the next two months.[15] The earliest contingent to arrive in the West was on January 4, 1839; there were two more groups that month, three in February, and six in March. The final arrival was on March 25—almost six months after the first one left. Thus for the entire bitter winter they were strung out along the road from Tennessee into Kentucky, and on through Illinois and Missouri.

The detachments were checked in at the camps in Tennessee and Alabama by Captain John Page, of the regular Army, and on their arrival in what is now Oklahoma they were checked out by Captain J. R. Stephenson.[16] John Ross kept his own records of the number in each contingent. Deaths and desertions reduced the numbers and these were offset in part by births and accessions. While a record was kept of the births and deaths in nine contingents, only three of them had a record of desertions and accessions. In the nine groups where they were recorded there were 424 deaths and 71 births —but these lists were probably by no means complete and records are not available for three of the largest contingents. Evidently many shifted from one detachment to another during the journey—the vanguard of one group would join the one ahead and the sick and their families would be forced to wait for a later contingent.

Among the differing figures compiled by the three record-

[14] HR 288.
[15] Foreman, 302-3.
[16] Starr, 103.

ers Ross's were the highest. The totals for the twelve contingents—still excepting the thirteenth—were: Page, 10,813; Stephenson, 11,275; and Ross, 12,918.[17] This seems to indicate that there was a large number of accessions, or that Captain Page did not get all the names. The number of wagons and teams and riding horses varied with the financial circumstances of the groups. Ross claimed forage for 645 teams and 5,000 riding horses.[18] On the basis of his figure of 12,918 migrants this meant that some 8,000—except for the sick, the old people, and small children who rode in the wagons—walked the entire distance.

As is natural after more than a century, a great deal of confusion has grown up over the actual facts of the removal. The principal error is the idea that the migration was conducted by soldiers, whereas they did not accompany a single detachment of the Cherokee. While it is true that parties emigrating before 1838 were usually conducted by Army officers these were the "Treaty Cherokee" who were voluntarily making the trip at the invitation and expense of the government—these were in no sense militarily forced removals.

The missionary Daniel S. Butrick and his wife were provided with a horse, as were many of the Cherokee, and were assigned to the eleventh detachment, which was headed by Richard Taylor, a colorful figure who during his lifetime held many offices of trust in the Cherokee Nation. He was fifty-six years of age at this time and was described as a "large, portly man, of bland countenance, which seemed shaded with an expression so deeply pensive as to indicate that but little hope for the fortunes of his country lingers around his heart."[19] He smoked a silver pipe of exquisite workmanship with a silver charm attached which had been presented by George Washington to one of the Cherokee chiefs. Taylor was one of the leaders who had negotiated with General Scott in July, 1838,

[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*, 104.
[19] Foreman, 232n.

and had persuaded him to permit the Nation to have charge of its own migration.

The Butricks joined Taylor's detachment at its camp on October 4. There were delays, however, and the trek did not get under way until November 1. The party did not reach Nashville until twenty days later and entered Kentucky on December 1. After two days they reached Hopkinsville where they ran into their first snow, a grim and ominous warning of what was to come. They were ten miles from the Ohio River when they passed Isaac Bushyhead, who was ill and had dropped out of the third detachment which had passed that way three weeks before. Isaac told Butrick that sixty people had died in his group before it reached that point.[20] Taylor's contingent came to the Ohio River across from Golconda on December 15, and prepared to enter Illinois. The party began crossing the river at about 10 A. M. aboard John Berry's steam ferry.[21] They had suffered the deaths of fifteen of their members up to this point. The entrance into Illinois proved a disappointment to Butrick, as he wrote in his Journal:

> As we are now passing out of a slave state into a free, we are reflected on the pleasure of landing where all in a measure were free and equal. But we had scarcely landed when we were met with vollies of oaths from every quarter. I turned to one boat, to make a few purchases but heard such awful profaneness within that I quickly turned away to another.[22] On entering it I had scarcely time to speak to the owner, behind the counter, before I was obliged to hear from his unhallowed lips the same infernal language. . . . On going up from the boats into the Village, called Golconda, it seemed to be made up chiefly of groceries [saloons], and little boys in the streets had already learned to lisp the infernal language. I almost longed to be back in the still, quiet towns of Kentucky.

Not only was the profanity of the inhabitants of Egypt

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[20] The conductor of this detachment was the Rev. Jesse Bushyhead, brother of Isaac. Starr (p. 103) gives the total number of deaths in this group as thirty-eight.

[21] This was the ferry used by the Cannon party and was originally the Lusk ferry. Berry is reported to have charged the Cherokee $1.00 a head, and to have built an imposing two-story brick residence near the river's Kentucky bank with the $10,000 made from the emigration. This substantial house is still standing, but is in bad repair and has been unoccupied for many years.

[22] Store boats did a great deal of the business at the river towns.

shocking to the pious Butrick, but the lack of hospitality that met them was but little different from the callous treatment from which they were fleeing. The detachment had planned on camping at the site used by Cannon's party the year before. Now they found this was impossible:

> Those of us who crossed first went on to the place designated for camping about a mile and a half from the river. I immediately commenced gathering wood for the Sabbath. Having done this, & commenced making preparation for supper, we were told by a white man living near, that that was not the place for camping, but we must go beyond the next plantation.[23] We therefore harnessed, and leaving our fire and wood, went on with other wagons to the place specified. Here we found a man of Wafford's detachment[24] drunk still on the ground. That company left here this morning. We now again selected a place for our tent, & put it up, & gathered wood for the Sabbath. My dear wife had also made her tea, when word came that we must not camp there, as the owner would not allow the Cherokees to cut or burn any wood. Mr. Taylor also who was yet behind wished the detachment to go farther & camp on public land. It was now nearly dark, Saturday night, and we were quite tired and hungry, yet we could only prepare for another encampment about a mile distant.

When all the detachment did not get across the river the first day Berry insisted that the remainder ferry over on the next day, although it was Sunday. This grieved Butrick very much, but Taylor gave the orders and the crossing was completed—not in time, however, for the missionary to hold services the first Sunday the group was in Illinois. That afternoon and night were stormy, but a few white residents came to visit the Indians. To these Illinois visitors Butrick related the sorrows and sufferings of the Cherokee. Rain forestalled any movement on Monday and, to add to their other troubles, Butrick wrote: "Two or three Cherokees came in last night

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[23] Butrick did not realize that he had passed from the plantations of the South to the farms of the North.

[24] James D. Wafford, who was with the migration, was not listed by Ross as a conductor but was probably an assistant conductor, whom Ross didn't list by name. Wafford could speak and write both English and Cherokee and, fifty years later, was a principal source of information for Mooney's "Myths of the Cherokee," Mooney 238-39. Wafford was far from being a favorite of Butrick, who thought that the excessive drinking in the Wafford group was due in part to the fact that Wafford was a drinking man.

drunk—cursing in an awful manner, one of them returned raging like the infernal spirit, but was soon seized by the Cherokee lighthorse [25] & bound."

The detachment moved to higher ground on Tuesday and the following day—Wednesday, December 6—they traveled about six miles where they remained a week waiting for several wagons and some sick persons who had been left behind. Butrick recorded his daily activities while here:

> Previous to starting on this journey, I determined to let it be a journey of prayer . . . but instead of this . . . in the morning our time is employed in taking our own bed, etc. from the little wagon in which we sleep, to the large wagon which carries it—replacing the seat—getting water—cooking breakfast, putting up things, harnessing, etc. Soon we are hurried on by the wagons we accompany to the next encampment. Here we have to undo what we did in the morning—put up our tent, get wood and water, prepare supper, fix our bed, etc. We often get much fatigued by the time we get our fire prepared.

On December 21 the party moved about six miles where they remained until the day before Christmas. Two children died of a bowel complaint at this site. The first night the wind arose and it turned cold. On Sunday, the twenty-third, "The wind blew a gale nearly the whole night and seemed to threaten almost certain calamity, both by scattering the fire through the leaves and tents, and also by throwing limbs, trees, etc. upon our heads. . . . The wind is piercing cold."

The detachment traveled fifteen miles the day before Christmas, and despite the bitter cold they continued on Christmas Day. But on that day misfortune hit the hapless Butrick:

> Tuesday about noon, the linch pin came out of one end of the fore axletree,—the wheel came off and the end of the axletree, falling on the frozen ground broke, so that we had much trouble to get on to a wagon maker 6 miles forward. My dear wife had to walk considerably, & I became quite fatigued. We now called for lodgings at the house where we were to get our work done. The house was rather open and contained but one room, yet the family at length consented to our stay. Here our bodies were refreshed but our souls

[25] The Cherokee Lighthorse were the mounted police of the Cherokee Nation upon whom John Ross depended to maintain discipline on the removal journey.

pained. The workman,—the man of the house, came home a little before night in a high state of intoxication, & almost every word was accompanied with an oath. We hastened to bed, not considering it possible to have family worship. None of this family can read or write. The workman, i.e., the waggon maker is about 60 years old, and presents an awful spectacle. There are five adults in the family, yet none read. The woman says also that their preacher himself sometimes gets drunk. He is a Schismatic, or Bible Christian.[26]

By this time Taylor's party had been in southern Illinois ten days and it is understandable that they found little to endear the region to them. Butrick continued:

Thus far the citizens of Illinois appear more and more pitiable. They seem not only low in all their manners, but ignorant, poor, and ill humored. They have no slaves, but in general, as far as we have seen, they seem to be hankering after these leeks of Egypt, and because they cannot have slaves, let their work go undone. We see nothing like schools in this Country.

The detachment did not move on the day after Christmas. Butrick took the opportunity to visit Conductor Taylor, and from him learned that the groups at the Mississippi were stopped by the ice and that the twelfth overland party was in the same plight at the Ohio. It was exceptionally cold, but nevertheless on the following day Taylor moved his party six miles to a camp in the Mt. Pleasant neighborhood, in Union County, where they remained the following week. It was here, on December 30, that Butrick recorded the positions and tragic circumstances of the various detachments:

It is distressing to reflect on the situation of the Nation. One detachment stopped at the Ohio River, two at the Mississippi, one four miles this side, one sixteen miles this side, one 18 miles, and one 3 miles behind us. In all these detachments, comprising about 8,000 souls, there is now a vast amount of sickness, and many deaths. Six have died within a short time in Maj. Brown's detachment,[27] and in this detachment of Mr. Taylor's, there are more or less affected with sickness in almost every tent; and yet all are houseless

[26] An idea of the hopelessly sad and distressed condition of the Cherokee can be drawn from the fact that Butrick, one of the most pious and devout of missionaries, allowed the birthday of the Saviour to pass without the slightest mention in his Journal.

[27] Major James Brown was the conductor of detachment No. 9 which was about three miles behind Taylor's.

and homeless in a strange land, and in a cold region, exposed to weather almost unknown in their native land.[28]

On the first day of the new year Butrick again bemoaned in his Journal the pitiable condition of the once great and proud Nation:

Tuesday, Jan 1, 1839. Thus we enter on a new year in this wilderness, about 25 miles from the Mississippi. I say wilderness, because, though many people are settled around us, yet we, Indians, have a little spot of woodland assigned us, in which we must reside, . . . as though all the region were a wilderness.

On New Year's Day the missionary preached the sermon at the funeral of a young man named Ramsey, who had been a driver of one of the teams for Conductor Taylor. And the threat of more serious trouble was evidenced by his short, terse Journal entry, "the night was rainy."

The detachment remained in camp for another week, and both Butrick and his wife were ill. Deaths occurred regularly in the party and there was no surcease from the tragedy. On January 7, they moved to another site about a mile and a half away where there was a plentiful supply of water. At the camp they were leaving they had to carry their water for half a mile. Butrick noted that "War Club, our able friend, gave us some slippery elm bark for bowel complaint." The inclement weather continued to harass them, and on January 13, Butrick wrote, "Last night was also rainy, and this morning during a heavy rain, we had considerable difficulty in making a fire." And the next day, "The night was again rainy."

Butrick went to Taylor's tent to ask when the party would continue its journey. He was told that it would probably do so the next day. Then Taylor confided in the missionary some of the woes and troubles the Cherokee were having with the inhabitants of southern Illinois:

When we camped a mile & a half back, a young white man, a waggoner,

[28] While it is true that bitter cold weather was almost unknown to the Cherokee in their native area, it is equally true that such severe winters as that of 1838-1839 are recorded but once in a generation in the Ozark section of southern Illinois.

was sick at the house of a Mr. Gore,[29] a few days, where he died. Mr. Taylor showed me Mr. Gore's bill against the young man's estate, which he had paid, viz. For a coffin (a very ordinary one), four Dollars. For some grave cloths and burial, ten dollars, and for use of a bed, eleven Dollars, in all twenty-five Dollars.

Mr. Taylor also spoke of some trouble which Mr. Hicks had lately experienced. A very aged Cherokee belonging to Mr. Wafford's detachment fell back into that of Mr. Taylor's the other side of Ohio River, and crossed the river with us. One of our company, viz, Little Broom broke his wagon and remained at Golconda a day or two, and this old man remained with him. At length, however, the old man left him, & Little Broom came on—soon after this, Mr. Hick's detachment crossed the river and pursued its journey. Sometime after this, the citizens near the river found the old man dead, and buried him. They then followed Mr. Hick's with a charge of 39 Dollars for burying though the corpse was hauled to the place of burying with a log chain & a yoke of oxen. Mr. Hicks told them the old man belonged to another detachment, and that of course he was under no obligation to pay any charges against him. The men on hearing this returned, obtained a warrant, sheriff,[30] etc. and returned on the Sabbath and took Mr. Hicks back to a little town called Vienna,[31] where after some debate, he was acquitted. The man who was the principal in this prosecution is suspected of having killed the old man himself. It is also stated that some of his neighbors saw lately two young Cherokees well dressed lying dead in a branch below his house, and went to him and told him of it. Not long after they went to bury the bodies, but they could not be found, yet when Mr. Hick's detachment camped near the place, & left their encampment, Mr. Hildebrand's coming later, found one of the bodies of the young men, as they now suppose, lying on the camp ground. Though the body seemed to have been sometime dead, yet from all appearance it had lain in that place but a short time. It is supposed this man had put it there to induce the belief that it died out of Mr. Hick's detachment. These two young men are said to have belonged to Mr. Still's detachment[32]—to have had a considerable amount of property—and to have stopped at Golconda, as the detachment went on. Thus the citizens of this state seem thus far to display a more mean and niggardly disposition than I have ever found in any other part of the Union.

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[29] Although Butrick does not give the first name, this was probably John Gore who came to Johnson County at an early date, Chapman, *History of Johnson County*, 383.

[30] John Fisher was sheriff of Johnson County. Vienna had been the county seat for twenty years.

[31] Butrick implies that Taylor's detachment did not pass through Vienna. This is quite possible, as one of the main roads from Pope County to the West turned north at Wartrace, passed through Moccasin Gap and then went west to Mt. Pleasant, passing north of Vienna. It is probable that, with numerous detachments passing through the county, they pursued different roads.

[32] Still was probably an assistant conductor since Ross does not list him as a conductor.

Taylor's party had passed detachment No. 10 which was being conducted by George Hicks, but on January 15 the latter went ahead, except for some wagons which became mired in the mud. Hildebrand's group, the largest of the twelve on the trek, came up within a mile of Taylor's and then passed on. Thus Butrick and his companions were the last of the Cherokee to get away from the Johnson County encampment, and brought up the rear of the emigration.

Taylor's party resumed its journey on January 21. The next day it moved five miles and spent the night where Hildebrand's detachment had camped the night before. On the twenty-third the party moved another five miles and camped on Duck Creek, two miles west of Jonesboro, which was then an important trading center of the young state. Despite his hatred of distilleries and the fact that Union County had twelve of them, Butrick wrote that "its moral character [is] much better than of any we have seen in the state."

It was at Jonesboro that the incident occurred which brought hollyhocks to southern Illinois and furnished the tender story of Basil Silkwood and Priscilla, the quadroon slave girl. Priscilla was owned by a Cherokee and was brought on the removal by her Indian master.[33] They had come from western North Carolina and Priscilla had brought along some hollyhock seed from her mountain home. Basil Silkwood had emigrated to Illinois and settled in Franklin County, on the old Goshen Road. On a business trip to Jonesboro he saw the slave girl and purchased her from her master. Silkwood took Priscilla to his home at Mulkeytown where he gave her her freedom. Priscilla lived to be seventy years old, and is buried in Reed Cemetery near the Silkwood house. The hollyhock seed she brought from North Carolina has propagated until all Egypt is now familiar with its small red flower.

Butrick recorded that on the second day after their arrival

[33] J. G. Mulcaster, "The Quadroon Girl of Southern Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Vol. XXVIII, no. 3 (Oct., 1935), 214-17.

at the site near Jonesboro they moved on "seven miles" to the banks of the Mississippi.[34] Here they were to cross by means of Bainbridge's ferry, or, rather, two ferries:

> At this place a sand bar in the middle extends, probably half across the bed of the river . . . therefore it is like two rivers, crossed by two ferries, that is, two sets of boats, one conveying passengers to the bar, and one from it. We fixed our tent on the bank of this Great River, one of the wonders of creation. Soon after we arrived, our attention was arrested by the passing of a large, beautiful & grand steam boat. Neither my dear wife, nor myself had ever seen one before . . . numbers who crossed the Ohio with us have not lived to arrive at this.

Although they had now reached the Mississippi it was three weeks before all of Taylor's party had been ferried across. After some of them had crossed, it began to rain and snow, and became bitterly cold. Butrick and his wife, however, had been among the first to reach Missouri and they found friends among the clergy on the west bank. Three months, lacking a week, elapsed between the time the first Cherokee entered Illinois at Golconda and the last of Taylor's party was ferried across near Cape Girardeau.

The passing years have brought a general feeling of commiseration for the Cherokee Nation and unbounded admiration for the truly remarkable spirit which caused them to fight for political independence as a national entity. Nothing could atone for the suffering the removal brought to these proud and once happy people—and the worst of their misfortunes were found in that part of southern Illinois known as Egypt.

[34] Butrick's conception of distance was not too accurate—they traveled more than seven miles to reach the river.

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

BY WAYNE S. COLE

OUR principles were right. Had they been followed war could have been avoided."[1] So ran the final statement of the America First Committee issued in December, 1941, after the official entry of the United States into World War II.

Organized to keep the United States out of the European war, the America First Committee failed completely to achieve its primary objective. Nor was America First able to defeat any major Administration proposal actually put to the test in Congress. But the non-interventionist strength, which the Committee and other groups represented, definitely affected the strategy of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.[2] More than that, persons close to Roosevelt felt that the non-interventionists had fought the President almost to a standstill near the end of 1941 when the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor took the decision out of American hands.[3]

[1] *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 12, 1941.

[2] Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York, 1948), 370, 373, 375; Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (New York, 1948), 132-33.

[3] *Ibid.,* 382-83, 429-30; Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service,* 376.

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In the spring and summer of 1940 the Nazi blitzkrieg crushed Denmark, Norway, the Low Countries and France. By September the Battle of Britain was well under way. An alarmed United States increased the tempo of its defense efforts. The American people were caught in the paradox of wanting a British victory while desiring to keep out of the European war. It was in this setting that the America First Committee was organized.

The Committee grew out of the informal discussions, in the spring of 1940, of a group of students at Yale University. The most active in the group was R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., a twenty-four-year-old law school student and son of the first vice-president of the Quaker Oats Company. During the summer of 1940 he secured the support of prominent business and political leaders for a proposed national non-interventionist organization.[4] Public announcement of the formation of the America First Committee was made on September 4, 1940,[5] and the organization was incorporated in Illinois on September 19, of the same year.[6]

General Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck and Company in Chicago, served as national chairman of the Committee during its fifteen-months' existence. Stuart was national director of the organization. In March, 1941, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank and Hanford MacNider were appointed vice-chairmen. Mrs. Fairbank was a former National Democratic committeewoman from Illinois. MacNider, an active Republican, was an Iowa manufacturer and a former National Commander of the American Legion.[7] J. Sanford Otis, a Chicago investment banker, was treasurer.

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[4] R. Douglas Stuart, Jr. to author, Feb. 16, 1948; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* Oct. 27, 1940; Stuart to members of early committee, Aug. 2, 1940, America First Papers (MSS., Hoover War Library, Stanford University. Hereafter cited as AF Papers).

[5] *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 5, 1940.

[6] Certificate of Incorporation, in the America First Committee Corporate Records book, General Robert E. Wood Papers. (MSS. in General Wood's office, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago.)

[7] Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, March 28, 1941, Wood Papers; *Who's Who in America* (1948-1949).

America First Committee policies were formulated and supervised by a seven-member executive committee or board of directors. The original members were General Wood; Stuart; MacNider; Clay Judson, a Chicago attorney; William H. Regnery, president of the Western Shade Cloth Company; General Thomas S. Hammond, president of the Whiting Corporation; and Jay C. Hormel, president of the board of the Hormel Packing Company.[8] Mrs. Fairbank replaced Hormel in May, 1941.[9]

A total of more than fifty persons served on a larger national committee which also met to decide matters of policy. Many of its members, though interested, were relatively inactive. Among the more influential were John T. Flynn, Chester Bowles, Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark, William R. Castle, and the members of the executive committee.[10]

Of greater importance in the determination of Committee policy than many national committee members were a number of unofficial advisors. Stuart relied heavily on the advice of Bowles and William Benton, then vice-president of the University of Chicago and later United States Senator from Connecticut. Among others of importance were Samuel B. Pettengill, former congressman from Indiana; Philip La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin; Senator Burton K. Wheeler; Congressman Karl Mundt; and the members of the America First staffs in Chicago and Washington, D. C.[11]

The America First Principles, outlining the Committee's foreign policy views, were revised from time to time but in

[8] Clay Judson to Wood, April 11, 1941, Stuart to Thomas S. Hammond, Sept. 20, 1940, AF Papers.

[9] Jay C. Hormel to Wood, April 16, 1941, AF Papers; Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, May 28, 1941, Wood Papers.

[10] Interviews with Stuart, April 6, 1949, and with Wood, Dec. 23, 1947. For lists of national committee members see: *Congressional Digest* (1941), 167; *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 5, 1940; America First Committee Bulletin 647, Oct. 23, 1941, AF Papers; and notebook in Stuart Papers (MSS. in the private collection of Stuart) San Francisco. Lindbergh became a member in April, 1941. *New York Times*, April 18, 1941.

[11] Interview with Stuart, April 6, 1949.

most respects the fundamentals remained unchanged. The following statement of the Principles was released in March, 1941:

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."

2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.

3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.

4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.

5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries and so keep alive their hope for the return of better days.[12]

The Committee's first public statement barred pacifists from membership.[13] This policy was soon reversed, however, and America First not only accepted pacifists as members but also co-operated informally with leading pacifist organizations.[14] Nevertheless, the Committee consistently urged building national defenses.[15] Its leaders sought provision for the defense of North America and northern South America. Most of them believed the United States should provide for the defense of the Western Hemisphere south of the equator as well, but there were some differences of opinion in this regard.[16] Despite this stand, the America First Committee never waged

[12] America First Committee Bulletins 140 and 140A, March 20, 1941, AF Papers.

[13] *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 5, 1940.

[14] Stuart to Oswald Garrison Villard, Sept. 26, 1940, Wood Papers; Stuart to Dr. Albert W. Palmer, Nov. 1, 1940, and "Rough Outline of Projects Completed During Past Month," dictated by Stuart, Feb. 25, 1941, AF Papers.

[15] For other revisions of the Principles see: *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 5, 1940; *Congressional Digest* (1941), 167.

[16] For illustrations see: General Robert E. Wood, *Our Foreign Policy* (Chicago, Oct. 4, 1940), 5; Sterling Morton, *Let's Think This Matter Through* (Chicago, Dec. 15, 1940), 3; *Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives* (77 Congress, 1 session, on H. R. 1776; Washington, 1941), 376, 384; *Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate* (77 Congress, 1 session, on S. 275; Washington, 1941), 281; and Judson to Wood, Sept. 24, 1940, AF Papers.

a positive, aggressive battle on this issue comparable with its major campaigns.

The Committee did not take a position on the Selective Service measure of 1940.[17] In 1941 it opposed authorizing the President to send selectees and National Guardsmen outside the Western Hemisphere. It did not take a position on extension of the period of service but members were encouraged to write their congressmen expressing individual opinions.[18] Despite this official "neutrality" of the national committee, the efforts of members of local chapters were predominantly directed against draft extension.[19] The powerful New York chapter under John T. Flynn threw its whole weight against extension.[20]

The leaders of America First hoped Britain would not be defeated in World War II, and increasingly came to believe that a complete German victory was unlikely. They did not, however, believe a complete British victory could be accomplished without the full military participation of the United States in the war. They therefore felt that the possibility of a negotiated peace should at least be investigated. Moreover, they were convinced that a complete German victory would be less prejudicial to American welfare than intervention by the United States in the war. Though nearly all of them denounced Hitler and the Nazis, Committee spokesmen did not believe a victorious Axis could successfully attack a prepared America. Nor did they fear a Nazi economic or ideological threat. While most America First officials believed the United States could win if she entered the conflict, they were convinced it would

[17] Stuart to Kenosha (Wis.) Christian Business Men's Committee, Aug. 6, 1940; William Ford to T. J. Murphy, Aug. 12, 1940, AF Papers.

[18] America First Committee Bulletin 477, Aug. 7, 1941, AF Papers.

[19] For illustrations see: Mrs. Fairbank to Miss Helen Lamont, July 24, 1941, D. S. MacKay to Senate Military Affairs Committee, July 15, 1941, Minutes of Executive Board of Boston America First Chapter, Aug. 5, 12, 1941, and K. D. Magruder to America First Committee, Aug. 11, 1941, AF Papers; and America First Committee Research Bureau, *Did You Know* (Washington, 1941), no. 10.

[20] Minutes of meeting of heads of New York chapters, Aug. 14, 1941, AF Papers; and *America First Bulletin* (New York), July 26, 1941.

require a long, bloody war which might well result in national bankruptcy and loss of the freedoms we sought to defend.[21] General Wood believed the involvement of the United States would probably spell "the end of capitalism all over the world."[22]

The first statement of the Committee's Principles in September, 1940, declared that "'Aid short of war' weakens national defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad."[23] As American sentiment for aid to Britain increased, this Principle was revised later in 1940 to read:

> The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of the Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American Navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.[24]

Early in 1941 the Committee waged its first major campaign in opposing Lend-Lease.[25] With the passage of the measure in March, the Committee concentrated on opposing the use of the American Navy for convoys,[26] and in the fall in its final major campaign the Committee fought the revision of the Neutrality Act which would enable American merchant ships to enter the war zones.[27]

Opinions among leaders and members of America First varied on details, but on one issue there was complete agreement. All agreed the United States should keep out of the

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[21] Memorandum to Speakers from Mrs. Barbara McDonald, March 17, 1941, AF Papers; Wood, *Foreign Policy,* 5, 7-14; Judson, *Is This Our War?* (Chicago, Nov. 30, 1940), 5, 9-13; *House Foreign Affairs Hearings* (H. R. 1776), 350-61. Lindbergh's views differed in some respects from those of most Committee leaders. He would have preferred a negotiated peace to a British victory and doubted the United States could win a war with Germany in Europe. See: *Senate Foreign Relations Hearings* (S. 275), 490-550.

[22] Wood, *Foreign Policy,* 14.

[23] *Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 5, 1940.

[24] Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, Dec. 27, 1940, Wood Papers.

[25] *New York Times,* Jan. 12, 1941.

[26] America First Committee Bulletin 122, March 10, 1941, AF Papers.

[27] *Washington Post,* Oct. 10, 1941.

European war. The Committee made repeated efforts to keep the debate on the simple issue of war or peace. Committee spokesmen contended "steps short of war" would place the United States in a position which would make war inevitable. This conviction provided the core of the Committee's stand against Lend-Lease, convoys, sending selectees outside of the Western Hemisphere, the "shoot-on-sight" policy, and revision of the Neutrality Act.[28] In June, 1941 the Committee gave its support to a national advisory referendum on war or peace.[29] It also financed polls in the districts of Congressmen Hamilton Fish, Knute Hill, Paul Shafer, and Harry Sauthoff to show that approximately eighty per cent of the people opposed entering the European war.[30] In October, 1941 General Wood, in an open letter to President Roosevelt, urged him to place the issue of war or peace squarely before Congress. Wood declared that if Congress voted for a declaration of war the Committee would respect that decision. But if Congress voted against such a resolution, "the administration must respect that decision and take no further step toward our involvement."[31] Some of President Roosevelt's advisors had been urging just such a course, and the proposal by General Wood further convinced the President that he would be defeated in such a vote.[32]

America First leaders deemed the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941 one more reason for staying out of the war. They ridiculed the idea of fighting for democracy and freedom on the side of Communist and "godless" Russia.[33]

The Committee was primarily concerned with keeping the

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[28] For illustrations see: *Senate Foreign Relations Hearings* (S. 275), 342-45; America First Committee, *Convoy: A Funeral Train* (Chicago, n. d.); America First Committee Bulletin 389, July 7, 1941; *New York Times,* Sept. 13, 1941; and Research Bureau, *Did You Know,* no. 28, pp. 32-33.

[29] *Chicago Tribune,* June 30, 1941.

[30] R. A. Moore to Knute Hill, Dec. 6, 1941; Moore to Paul Shafer, Dec. 6, 1941; Moore to Harry Sauthoff, Dec. 6, 1941; Moore to Hamilton Fish, June 7, 1941, AF Papers.

[31] *Chicago Tribune,* Oct. 23, 1941.

[32] Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins,* 382.

[33] For illustrations see: Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, June 23, 1941, Wood Papers; *Chicago Tribune,* June 23, July 2, 1941.

United States out of the European war. Though it officially opposed participation in war with Japan before Pearl Harbor,[34] this possibility received relatively little attention from the Committee and its spokesmen.

In addition to its Principles, the America First Committee released the following statement of objectives:

1. To bring together all Americans, regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye-to-eye on these principles. (This does not include Nazists [*sic*], Fascists, Communists, or members of other groups that place the interest of any other nation above those of our own country.)

2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.

3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.

4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.[35]

To achieve its first objective the Committee formed local chapters and enrolled members throughout the nation. By December 7, 1941 the Committee had approximately 450 chapters and sub-chapters, though some of these were relatively inactive.

In such a loose knit and mushroom organization it was not possible to keep an accurate record of Committee membership. No estimate can be more than an approximation, but it is probable that the total national membership of America First was around 800,000 to 850,000. Nearly two-thirds of the membership was located within the three hundred mile radius of Chicago which includes Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan and parts of Ohio, Missouri, Minnesota and Iowa. Roughly one-fourth of the membership was located in the states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland. There were also strong chapters in California, Colorado, Washington, and Washington, D. C. Though the Committee found adherents in every state and

[34] Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, Aug. 18, 1941, Wood Papers.
[35] Wood, *Foreign Policy*, 2.

units were formed in most of them, the South was strikingly resistant to its organizational efforts.[36]

When other reputable organizations were more effective with a particular group, the America First Committee occasionally co-operated and even helped financially. Among the organizations which received limited financial aid were the National Council for the Prevention of War, the Keep America Out of War Congress, the Youth Committee Against War, and the Ministers' No War Committee.[37]

To publicize non-interventionist views the Committee used newspaper advertising, pamphlets, radio addresses, press releases, cartoon services, and specially prepared motion pictures. Many hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature were mailed and distributed. Several hundred bulletins were sent during 1941 to guide, inform and stimulate each chapter. The chapters were encouraged to engage in their own publicity efforts providing they conformed to the Committee Principles and policies.[38] Several of the larger chapters published small newspapers.[39] The America First Committee Research Bureau in Washington, D. C., prepared bulletins and even assisted congressmen and senators with research and in writing speeches.[40] Thousands of America First meetings were held ranging from informal gatherings in the homes of members to the giant rallies attracting many thousands of persons at which Colonel Lindbergh, Senator Wheeler, Senator Gerald P. Nye, and others spoke.

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[36] These figures and generalizations are based upon an analysis of the Chapter Dissolution Files, AF Papers; a notebook in Stuart MSS.; and data from countless letters and clippings.

[37] Stuart to A. L. Dodge, Jan. 24, 1941, Wood Papers; Charles F. Boss, Jr. to Mrs. R. D. Stuart, Jr., Feb. 11, 1941, and "Rough Outline of Projects Completed During Past Month," Stuart, Feb. 25, 1941, AF Papers.

[38] America First Committee Bulletins 126, March 13, 1941, and 239, May 7, 1941, and chapter application blank, AF Papers.

[39] For examples see: *America First Bulletin* (New York); *The Herald* (San Francisco); and *The Voice of America First* (Philadelphia).

[40] Ruth Sarles to Kendrick Lee, April 8, 12, 1941; Stuart to Samuel Pettengill, April 26, 1941; memo from Sidney Hertzberg to Wood, Stuart and R. L. Bliss, April 2, 1941, AF Papers.

"To register this opinion with the President and with Congress" the Committee relied heavily upon letter writing. With the slogan, "Your pen is your last weapon against war,"[41] the Committee directed mail from its members where and when it would be most effective.[42] Committee representatives also functioned in a lobbying capacity in Washington, D. C.[43] It was hoped that polls showing opposition of American people to entering the European war would impress legislators and the Administration. Among polls financed by the Committee, in addition to the Congressional polls already mentioned, was one sponsored by an independent group headed by President Hutchins of the University of Chicago.[44] When the Committee seemed unable to stop the drift to war with these methods, its leaders decided to fight war at the polls in 1942. It was their intention to continue as a non-partisan organization but to oppose the election of interventionists and to support non-interventionist candidates regardless of political affiliations. This was not to be a third party movement. Since the official public announcement of this decision was made just a week before the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor, the plan never matured.[45]

Funds to finance the America First Committee campaign were secured almost exclusively from contributions. The national headquarters in Chicago received approximately $370,000[46] from some 25,000 contributors.[47] Local chapters were largely self-supporting. The New York chapter received slightly more than $190,000, most of it from its 50,000 con-

[41] America First Committee Bulletin 177A, April 2, 1941, AF Papers.

[42] For an illustration of methods used see: America First Committee, *Emergency Bulletin 1* (Chicago, Oct. 25, 1941).

[43] See note 40. See also Sarles to Lee, May 4, 13, 1941, AF Papers.

[44] Stuart to Mrs. B. C. Clark, July 19, 1941, AF Papers.

[45] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 2, 3, 1941; interview with Wood, Dec. 23, 1947; interview with Philip La Follette, Jan. 16, 1948.

[46] America First Audit Reports, July 29, 1940 to Feb. 7, 1942, and memo from Wood to M. B. Stanley, April 27, 1942, Wood Papers.

[47] Memo, F. H. Camphausen to Miss Marz, Dec. 11, 1941, AF Papers; and lists of small contributors, Wood Papers.

tributors,[48] while many chapters were financed by a few dollars from a handful of members.

More than two-fifths of the national headquarters income was supplied by persons who contributed one thousand dollars or more. Most of the largest contributors were businessmen. William H. Regnery, president of Western Shade Cloth Company in Chicago, and member of the America First executive committee, was the largest financial backer of the national organization. Another contributor of large sums was H. Smith Richardson of the Vick Chemical Company in New York City. General Wood contributed more than $10,000. Among others who contributed $4,000 or more were H. L. Stuart, Chicago investment banker; J. M. Patterson, president of the *News* of New York City; Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune;* Robert R. Young, railroad magnate; Jeremiah Milbank, New York corporation executive; Edgar J. Uihlein; John Burnham; Page Hufty; and Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms. Of course most individual contributions were small sums—frequently one dollar or less.[49]

Membership on the national committee was drawn from many walks of life and represented different points of view on nearly every subject except intervention in the war. This diversity was even more evident in the grass roots membership. Opposition of individual members to intervention in the European war was stimulated by a complex maze of varied forces and motives. The picture was one of complexity and diversity rather than simplicity.

Support for America First came from parents who were horrified by the mental image of their sons mangled on a foreign battlefield. Young men and women viewed this pos-

[48] "America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc. Daily Treasurer's Report," Dec. 8, 1941; and "Preliminary America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc. Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from Inception to March 26, 1942," AF Papers.

[49] Files of contributors of larger amounts, and general contributor correspondence files, AF Papers. *New York Herald Tribune,* March 12, 1941, lists the names of sixty-nine persons who had contributed $100 or more to the national organization as of Feb. 20, 1941.

sibility with understandable revulsion. American nationalism and distrust of Europeans, aggravated by disillusionment with the results of World World I, were of real significance. Related to this was a chronic dislike for the British and the skepticism of British motives found among large segments of the American people.

For many the movement was identified with opposition to President Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. A majority of those with political affiliations on the national committee, executive committee, and probably of the total local membership, was Republican. Yet roughly a dozen national committee members were Democrats as were some leaders of local chapters.[50] General Wood, though a Republican, had supported much of the early New Deal. Mrs. Fairbank had been active in the Democratic Party.[51] The roles many America First members had played in the Republican Party indicates that political considerations were important in the strength of the organization,[52] but Committee leaders did make real efforts to keep their organization non-partisan.[53]

The non-interventionist movement as a whole drew support from the ranks of liberals as well as from conservatives. However, during its full history most executive and national committee members of America First represented varied shades of conservatism on domestic and economic issues. Many liberals and Socialists with non-interventionist predilections found the intellectual environment more congenial in the Keep

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[50] For examples of Democrats among local chapter leaders see: A. R. Campbell to J. P. Kennedy, Dec. 2, 1940, Mrs. A. P. Hurt to R. L. Bliss, Jan. 30, 1941, Dellmore Lessard to Bliss, March 28, 1941, Chester Adams to H. C. Schnibbe, Sept. 12, 1941, AF Papers; and *Chicago Herald-American,* May 19, 1941.

[51] "General Robert E. Wood, President," *Fortune* (May, 1938), 66, 104; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* Oct. 27, 1940; *Current Biography* (May, 1941), 88-90; and *Who's Who in America* (1948-1949).

[52] For a specific example see: *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison), Feb. 17, 1941; and Stuart to Elizabeth Colman, June 21, 1941, AF Papers.

[53] Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, Nov. 1, 1940, Wood Papers; Judson to Stuart, Nov. 2, 1940, Committee form letters from Bliss [one undated, Nov. or Dec., 1940], and Dec. 13, 1940, Stuart to Mrs. B. C. Clark, Dec. 5, 1940, and Bliss to Magruder, May 19, 1941, AF Papers.

America Out of War Congress.[54] The America First Committee did endeavor to avoid domestic issues and it sought the support of liberal, labor, and farm leaders.[55] The financial strength and general effectiveness, which made America First the most powerful non-interventionist vehicle, induced some liberals to support and co-operate with the organization.[56] Nevertheless, its leadership and financial backing came predominantly from the more conservative wing of the non-interventionist movement.

Among the non-interventionist elements given most publicity by interventionists were the Communists (until June 22, 1941), pro-fascists, anti-Semites, and a multitude of marginal groups. The similarity of the foreign policy views advanced by these elements to those advanced by America First provided a persistent problem and a constant source of embarrassment for the Committee. Frequently critics of America First denied that they were accusing Committee leaders of being pro-Nazi or unpatriotic. Nevertheless, they pounded on the theme that America First was advancing views approved by leaders in Berlin and Rome and insisted that consciously or unconsciously the Committee was serving as a rallying point for fascists and a channel for Nazi propaganda.[57] Many critics were much less restrained in their attacks. The avalanche of this sort of criticism reached such an intensity during the last four months of 1941 that the debate on foreign policy issues was frequently very nearly obliterated.

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[54] Albert Horlings, "Who Are the Appeasers?" *The New Republic* (Jan. 27, 1941), 111; and A. L. Dodge to Wood, Jan. 15, 1941, Wood Papers.

[55] Stuart to Wood, Aug. 3, 1940, Sidney Hertzberg to Stuart Chase, Dec. 27, 1940, and transcript of remarks at national meeting of chapter heads at Chicago, July 12, 1941, p. 19, AF Papers.

[56] For example, Chester Bowles was a national committee member during its full history and Kathryn Lewis and Oswald Garrison Villard were members during part of its existence. Most of the staff members of the America First Committee research bureau were liberals. Norman Thomas, though never a member, spoke at America First meetings.

[57] For two good illustrations see: Friends of Democracy, Inc., *The America First Committee—The Nazi Transmission Belt* (New York, 1941); and Americanism Committee, 17th District, American Legion, Dept. of California, *Subversive Activities in the America First Committee in California* (Los Angeles, Oct. 10, 1941).

Actually, the Communist publications, *New Masses* and *Daily Worker,* attacked America First even in the early period as representing a group of capitalists opposed to the interventionist Morgan interests and whose imperialism differed only in details from that of the interventionists. Until June 22, 1941, when the German attack on the Soviet Union suddenly converted American Communists into interventionists, they found the American Peace Mobilization a more satisfactory vehicle through which to fight intervention.[58]

Pro-Axis elements provided a more serious problem for America First. The German-American Bund, German American National Alliance, and other similar groups urged their members to support America First.[59] One of the most active speakers for the Committee in the closing months of the campaign was Laura Ingalls, who was convicted in 1942 for failure to register as a German agent. It was revealed in her trial that Baron von Gienanth, Gestapo chief in the United States, had told Miss Ingalls: "The best thing you can do for our cause is to continue to promote America First."[60] Frank B. Burch, convicted on the same charge, was one of forty-seven sponsors of the Akron, Ohio, chapter of America First.[61] Ralph Townsend, convicted after Pearl Harbor for failure to register as a Japanese agent, addressed at least two local meetings of America First on the West Coast.[62]

Committee leaders were by no means oblivious to this problem. Communists, Nazis, and fascists were declared in-

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[58] *Daily Worker* (New York), Dec. 26, 1940, Jan. 12, 1941, and May 20, 1941; and *New Masses* (Jan. 7, 1941), 3-4.

[59] House of Representatives, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 78 Congress, 1 session, *Nazi Activities* (Section 1 of *Report on the Axis Front Movement in the United States,* Washington, 1943), 84; Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, *Sabotage! The Secret War Against America* (New York and London, 1942), 204-6; and *New York Post,* Feb. 21, 1941.

[60] W. S. Foulis to Vernon Anderson, Dec. 5, 1941, AF Papers; *The Nation* (Feb. 21, 1942), 206.

[61] *Akron Beacon Journal,* July 2, 1941; Sayers and Kahn, *Sabotage,* 220-25.

[62] *Oakland Post Enquirer,* Dec. 31, 1940; *San Francisco Chronicle,* March 20, 1941; Sayers and Kahn, *Sabotage,* 193.

eligible for membership.[63] Support from the Bund and some obvious native fascists was specifically repudiated.[64] Committee leaders appear to have had no knowledge of the foreign connections of Ingalls, Townsend and Burch.[65] The youth and inexperience of many on the headquarters staff and the pressure under which they worked resulted in many mistakes. Inadequate control over local chapters and a shortage of competent field men rendered house cleaning more difficult.[66] Nevertheless, conscientious efforts were made to prevent pro-fascists from working through the Committee.[67]

More important numerically was anti-Semitic support for America First. The charge of anti-Semitism was brought upon the organization when Henry Ford was made a national committee member in September, 1940.[68] Father Charles E. Coughlin had begun to attack the Jews by 1938,[69] and many of his followers actively supported America First chapters, particularly in the East.[70] Even some chapter leaders held clearly anti-Semitic views.[71]

The America First Committee tried to avoid the stigma of anti-Semitism. This determination was one of the reasons Henry Ford was dropped from the national committee.[72]

[63] Most America First pamphlets, contribution cards and major advertisements made such declarations.

[64] America First Committee Bulletin 257, May 15, 1941, AF Papers; *Chicago Tribune,* May 24, 1941; *PM* (New York), May 25, 1941.

[65] A. A. Brooks, Jr. to James Fallon, Jan. 8, 1942, and Schnibbe to M. A. Keith, Feb. 16, 1942, AF Papers; interview with Stuart, April 6, 1949; *Akron Beacon Journal,* July 4, 1941.

[66] Interview with Harry Schnibbe, June 21, 1949.

[67] For illustrations see: T. S. Hammond to W. S. Deveraux, Jan. 17, 1941, Hammond to Martin Dies, Jan. 17, 1941, and R. L. Bliss to Federal Bureau of Investigation, Chicago, March 13, 1941, Wood Papers; Stuart to Fairbank, June 6, 1941, and F. A. Chase to Richard Hood, Aug. 25, 1941, AF Papers.

[68] *New York Times,* Sept. 25, 1940; Stuart to L. J. Rosenwald, Dec. 9, 1940, AF Papers.

[69] Donald S. Strong, *Organized Anti-Semitism in America* (Washington, 1941), 59.

[70] Marion Johnson to Wood, June 9, 1941, Cornelia Hutcheson to Bessie Simons, June 11, 1941, Ottilia Wadner to W. R. Castle, June 12, 1941, J. C. Bayley, Jr. to Wood, July 8, 1941, and F. T. Fox to Wood, July 11, 1941, AF Papers.

[71] Louie Fife to Bliss, April 19, 1941, H. S. Hickman to Hufty, Oct. 15, 1941, Mrs. Zella Bossen-Honska to Mrs. L. R. Miller, Nov. 11, 1941, AF Papers; and "Voices of Defeat," *Life* (April 13, 1942), 94.

[72] Stuart to Rosenwald, Dec. 9, 1940, AF Papers; Stuart to I. A. Hirschmann, Dec. 11, 1940, Wood Papers.

Jews were welcomed as members and were included on the national headquarters staff, research bureau, and the sponsoring committees of some local chapters.[73] Recommendations by representatives of B'nai B'rith stimulated the Committee to remove officers from at least two local chapters.[74] Many of the same letters which declared followers of Father Coughlin welcome if they agreed with Committee policies also declared anti-Semites ineligible for membership.[75]

A crisis occurred when Charles A. Lindbergh declared in an address before an America First rally in Des Moines, Iowa, on September 11, 1941 that the three most important groups pressing the United States into the war were the British, the Jews and the Roosevelt Administration.[76]

Though Committee leaders had not read it beforehand,[77] the furor aroused by Lindbergh's Des Moines speech made it necessary for America First to release an official statement which asserted:

> Colonel Lindbergh and his fellow members of the America First Committee are not anti-Semitic. We deplore the injection of the race issue into the discussion of war or peace. It is the interventionists who have done this. America First, on the other hand, has invited men and women of every race, religion and national origin to join this committee, provided only that they are patriotic citizens who put the interests of their country ahead of those of any other nation. We repeat that invitation. . . . There is but one real issue —the issue of war. From this issue we will not be diverted.[78]

At the same time Stuart sent a letter to all chapter chairmen admonishing them to redouble their efforts "to keep our membership rolls clear of those who seek to promote racial and religious intolerance."[79] Most America First leaders

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[73] Interview with Stuart, June 17, 1949; interview with Harry Schnibbe, June 21, 1949; Magruder to Mrs. Barbara McDonald, May 13, 1941, W. E. Fraser to America First, Oct. 1, 1941, Mrs. Paul Palmer to M. R. Dreyfuss, Oct. 9, 1941, AF Papers.

[74] R. A. Moore to E. C. Jeffrey, June 19, 1941, AF Papers.

[75] L. B. Holland to Mrs. Agnes Hyland, July 9, 1941, J. S. Broeksmit, Jr. to R. C. Hershey, July 19, 1941, Holland to Catherine McParthin, July 22, 1941, AF Papers.

[76] *Des Moines Register,* Sept. 12, 1941.

[77] Interviews with Wood, Dec. 23, 1947, Stuart, June 17, 1949, and Robert J. Bannister, Sept. 15, 1947.

[78] Mimeographed statement, Sept. 24, 1941, AF Papers.

[79] Sept. 23, 1941, AF Papers.

deemed the Des Moines speech politically unwise. Nevertheless, many of them were convinced that Nazi persecutions led most American Jews to support the interventionist position and that Jews constituted an important element in the strength of their opposition.[80]

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was the death blow for America First. The Committee statement on December 7 urged its followers "to give their support to the war effort of this country until the conflict with Japan is brought to a successful conclusion."[81] On December 11, 1941, the national committee voted to dissolve the America First Committee, and its followers were again urged to support the war effort.[82] All that remained was the dreary task of dissolution.

General Wood and General Hammond served during the war with Army Ordnance in Chicago and Wood later served overseas with the Air Forces. Both Stuart and MacNider volunteered and served with distinction overseas in the Army. When Lindbergh's offer to serve was rejected, he was hired by Henry Ford, and as a civilian tested aircraft under combat conditions in the Southwest Pacific. Many young men who had been on the headquarters staff or leaders of local chapters volunteered their services to the armed forces.[83] Here and there former local members continued anti-war activities[84] but they were the exceptions.

The effect of the efforts of the America First Committee and the wisdom or lack of wisdom of its stand are matters

[80] Amos Pinchot to S. S. Menken, Oct. 4, 1941, in "Two Views on Lindbergh," *Catholic World* (Nov., 1941), 206-9; interview with Wood, Dec. 23, 1947; A. J. Carlson to J. P. Lewis, Sept. 16, 1941, T. S. Hammond to Wood, Sept. 17, 1941, W. R. Castle to Stuart, Sept. 15, 1941, and W. E. Hammaker to Stuart, Sept. 22, 1941, Wood Papers.

[81] *Chicago Tribune,* Dec. 8, 1941.

[82] *Ibid.,* Dec. 12, 1941.

[83] Schnibbe to M. A. Keith, Feb. 16, 1942, A. A. Brooks, Jr. to James Fallon, Jan. 8, 1942, J. B. Gordon to Undersecretary of War, Dec. 10, 1941, AF Papers; *Life* (April 13, 1942), 99; *Who's Who in America* (1948-1949); *Congressional Record,* 79 Congress, 1 session (1945), A5177-8; and interviews with Wood, Dec. 23, 1947, Stuart, April 6, 1949, and Schnibbe, June 21, 1949.

[84] *Life* (April 13, 1942), 94, 98-99; Flynn to Wood, Dec. 22, 1941, and J. L. Wheeler to Fallon, Jan. 7, 1942, AF Papers.

which cannot be measured with any degree of accuracy at this early date. Undoubtedly events in Europe and Asia had far greater influence upon the subsequent course of the United States than the efforts of mass pressure groups on either side of the debate. Nevertheless, the America First Committee did stimulate discussion of key issues, organize non-interventionist strength, and make that strength felt in Washington, D. C. Because of the Committee the non-interventionist position was defended with greater vigor than would have been possible without such an organization.

History's verdict on the America First Committee will probably be shaped as much by the future course of the United States as by the actual events in the Committee's existence. Today America's foreign policy is predicated upon the conviction that peace and security are to be obtained through international organization and co-operation. And it is unlikely that the United States will ever again base its foreign policy upon the fundamental assumptions and ideas advanced by the non-interventionists of 1940-1941. Consequently, it is probable that the America First Committee will never hold a revered position in the annals of American history. The motives and views of the pro-fascists and anti-Semites who sought to work through the organization can never be condoned. Nevertheless, the details concerning the America First Committee's history as revealed by its records leave a more respectable picture of its activities than that which has been heretofore widely accepted.

HEALTH MEASURES IN EARLY SPRINGFIELD

BY HELEN VAN CLEAVE BLANKMEYER

HEALTH problems were present in every cabin in Springfield in 1820. In the new village, which was no more than a camp, the pioneers were threatened by unknown illnesses which demanded intelligent medical advice. The grannies ushered babies into the world more or less successfully and some of them were fairly wise in the use of herbs and tisanes. Frequently, however, there was a dependence upon charms and an undercurrent of superstition in their pathetically useless efforts. They knew such things as that hot catnip or sage tea produced sweating, that camphor in oil or an onion poultice was comforting for chest colds, that mutton tallow soothed rough, red skin, and that a mixture of sulphur and molasses "purified the blood!"

Helen Van Cleave Blankmeyer, wife of Dr. H. C. Blankmeyer of Springfield, has long been a student of her home town's history. She is the author of The Sangamon Country *(1935). Unusually civic-minded, she was for many years a member of the (Springfield) Lincoln Library Board. This paper, limited to the field of public health, is based on an address before the Auxiliary of the Sangamon County Medical Association, the material for which was taken from the minutes of the Town Board and City Council of Springfield. Thirty-five large volumes containing these minutes were read in the summer of 1935 by Mrs. Blankmeyer and two assistants. She made a one-hundred-page typed resumé called "The Story of the City Records." An indexed copy of this condensation is in the Illinois State Historical Library.*

In Sangamon County practically everyone suffered from malaria, known as "chills and ague," the babies had "summer complaint" (diarrhea), and there were cases of typhoid, "lung fever" (tuberculosis), and rheumatic fever. Early records mention bilious and "putrid" fevers—the former that well known form of unhappiness caused by a torpid liver, possibly even (in children) an acidosis; "putrid" presupposed an infection. The big buzzing flies from the high, hot prairie grass and the mosquitoes from the swamps were not recognized as the threats they were, but were merely considered annoying.

The beautiful clear stream which flowed through the pioneer village was often polluted through a careless indifference to human decencies, but the more fastidious inhabitants protested and sometimes gained their point. The need for a good physician was acute, and fortunately for the settlers Dr. Gershom Jayne came to join them in 1820, the year after John Kelley's family built the first cabin on a hill above Mill Creek, a tributary of the Town Branch. Their double log cabin was near the present Klein and Jefferson streets, and the clear stream, slightly straightened is now the city sewer.

The early physicians frequently practiced bleeding. Calomel, castor oil, blue mass, and Dr. Jayne's carminative (used by Abraham Lincoln) were among the favored medicines. Quinine, which was urgently needed here, was isolated from cinchona bark in 1820, but was not generally available until after 1833. Ether, introduced in 1842, was not extensively used until after 1847.

There were, of course, itinerant Indian medicine men, and the "bump doctors" (phrenologists) who would set up shop on any convenient corner. What the medicine men prescribed for the bite of the "blue-tail fly" is conjectural, but I think it may have come from a little brown jug.

The village of Springfield became a town on April 2, 1832, and the Rev. Charles R. Matheny was elected president

of the Town Board. The trustees were Cyrus Anderson, William Carpenter, Mordecai Mobley, Elisha Tabor and John Taylor. Members of the first Board of Health were Doctors John Todd, Gershom Jayne, Jacob M. Early, Ephraim Darling, Elias H. Merryman, Thomas Houghan, Garret Elkin and James R. Gray. Among the first acts of this Board were primary measures of sanitation. Fines were fixed for acts of public nuisance, animals were ordered to be shut up at night, weeds to be cut, dogs to be kept at home in hot weather, and a large quantity of lime was bought at the town's expense to treat the outdoor toilets.

Nor was the Board unmindful of mental health and its obligation to the poor and the unprotected. At this first meeting it provided for the care of an insane man, "M. Myers," and for a Negro girl, "Violet." There is nothing to tell Violet's age or how she happened to be left alone, nor is there any further information about poor Mr. Myers—but they are extremely important, far more important than either could have expected to be, because they represent the town of Springfield's first act in the field of public service and social welfare.

One statement in the first records will jar harshly on feminine ears. The Town Board made itself responsible for the health, welfare and estates of "all infants, females, lunatics, and idiots" not otherwise protected! The linking of terms was a bit unfortunate.

During the very first year of its existence the Board of Health was actively engaged in fighting cholera, and on July 19, 1832, the following appeared in the *Sangamo Journal*:

NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF SPRINGFIELD

Whereas we have information that the Asiatic cholera is now prevailing in Chicago; and whereas it becomes the duty of the Trustees to guard the town against infection from that source, Resolved, that the President of the Board be instructed to cause a notice to be published to the inhabitants of Springfield, directing them to remove all nuisances on their premises, and purify by a free use of lime all necessaries, cellars, etc., to remove all vegetable substances in a putrifying condition, and to request them to unite with the

Board of Trustees and the Board of Health in removing every cause of disease. . . . The Board of Health is requested to meet at the Court House this evening at 7 P. M.

C. R. Matheny, President
Simeon Francis, Clerk

Only one case developed in Springfield that summer, but for the next fourteen years Asiatic cholera continued to be the ghost on the stairs—suspected and feared; and then, almost forgotten, it would strike again with an awful impact. In Jacksonville, thirty-four miles away, the epidemic had spread to such terrible proportions that all other business ceased while the inhabitants mourned and buried their dead. Dr. Anson G. Henry of Springfield, saw an opportunity to help and at the same time to learn something about the disease. He worked with the Morgan County doctors, watching the progress of each phase of the disease, testing the efficacy of suggested remedies, and daring to try original methods. In Springfield we reaped the benefit of his intensive study, for, while neighboring Illinois towns buried their hundreds, the Springfield doctors lost only three cases in 1833, seventeen in 1834.

The Board of Health insisted upon rented isolation quarters, and then trained volunteer nurses who gave their services free to the hospital patients and hardly took time from their ministrations to eat or sleep. Nor were people ever so bombarded with good counsel—the newspaper carrying long articles in which the Board directed readers in first-aid techniques.

The fate of any victim of cholera hung principally upon immediate treatment. At a time when doctors were so busy, it was imperative that the inhabitants be instructed directly through the press, but every such instruction or prohibition was invariably followed by a disclaimer on the part of the Board, such as, "We do not presume to prescribe for the patient of any other physician. These instructions are for emergency use only. At the first signs of distress, go at once to bed and call your own doctor."

The public was urged to keep within reach:

> Several powders or pills containing 20 grains calomel and 1 grain opium, a bottle of castor oil, a quantity of powdered mustard, a phial of spirits of camphor, a bottle of brandy, and a quantity of balm, sage, or snake-root. . . . At the first sign of diarrhea take one of the powders, repeating half of the dose every hour if necessary . . . .endeavor to excite perspiration by using balm, sage or snake-root tea. If discharges, pain, vomiting or cramps come on, apply a mustard plaster to the stomach and heated rocks to the body. Rub legs and arms with dry mustard, or with red pepper and brandy.

The public was warned not to travel or receive guests, not to attend the circus or other large gatherings, not to visit the sick unless actually needed in the sick room. A little later, malaria being rampant, someone had the inspiration to wonder if it might not be aggravated by the evil-smelling, stagnant water of the pond lots, and they were actually ordered to be filled, but the work was not done until 1842. These "pond lots" were swampy land two blocks west of the public square, bounded by Second, Third, Adams, and Washington streets. Still nobody seems to have mentioned mosquitoes, flies, or drinking water. Occasional cases of cholera were reported in 1851 and 1854; the last noted was in 1856.

On June 14, 1843, Mayor Daniel Hill created a Board of Health with a new sort of personnel, not (as formerly) composed of doctors only, but with one physician and one layman assigned to each of the four wards. The members of this Board were: First ward, Dr. James Spence, dentist, and Simeon Francis; Second ward, Dr. Gershom Jayne and Mordecai Mobley; Third ward, Dr. John Todd and Thomas Moffett; Fourth ward, Dr. Meredith Helm and Caleb Birchall.

In 1847, Mayor Eli Cook appointed Dr. J. A. Pomeroy City Physician, so far as I can learn the first to fill that office. Immediately an epidemic of smallpox threatened, and at Dr. Pomeroy's request the City Board recommended general vaccination to check the spread of the disease. How I would like to discover old letters and diaries of that date, reflecting the

reaction of Springfield people to this unprecedented request! I am sure that "reaction" would then have read "consternation."

It was during a later (1866) smallpox siege that Mayor John S. Bradford found his aldermen indifferent to the needs of the citizens and accordingly gave them "for free" a very large piece of his mind. Bradford, a native of Philadelphia, was one of the finest and best qualified men ever to serve the city of Springfield. He was experienced in business methods, his generosity and benevolence were well known, and he was foremost in every movement calculated to elevate the moral and social state of the community.

When he called a special meeting of the Council to enact emergency sanitation legislation and to appropriate an adequate sum to care for the indigent sick, less than half of the aldermen attended, and those who did were by no means cooperative. The mayor, a tall, commanding figure, rose to his feet, and let them know the depth of his displeasure. Sternly he warned of the gravity of the situation. He said they should be ashamed not to feel a personal and imperative sense of their responsibility, and that each man present could blame only himself if members of his own family were stricken. He then adjourned the meeting to reconvene the following day. At the second meeting there were no empty chairs, and the Council promptly voted the required regulations and funds.

Regulations for handling food had been drawn up for Springfield's first large market which was built in 1843. The building itself was in the center of Sixth between Washington and Jefferson streets. It measured 30 by 104 feet and cost $800. The more desirable stalls were rented, the others were free. They opened both to the inside aisles and to the street, with shutters provided against rain or sun. One feels a mild surprise in reading that the fine of only one dollar was exacted for absent-mindedly tying "one horse, mule or cow" to one of the filled stalls, considering the damage which could be done.

Repeated offenses, however, landed a culprit in the town jail, so the constable was not always lenient. The Market Master, rigidly excluding produce which he considered below minimum standard, made a signal contribution to the city's health. The Sixth Street Market was later torn down and a new one built on the southeast corner of Fourth and Monroe streets, but, first and last, a city-owned market proved to be a political football, and in time that scheme of food distribution was abandoned.

The building of the railroads through Illinois is a tremendously dramatic story, but concerns us here only as providing easier access to our always convention-minded town. Various groups were organized in Springfield, and among them the Illinois State Medical Society, with Dr. John Todd, of Springfield, as one of its important founders. Dr. Todd and his colleagues received a little group of Illinois doctors in the library of the new Statehouse (the present County Courthouse) on June 4, 1850, and there formed the society which counts its members by the thousands, and whose concerted efforts have been of incalculable value to the people of the state.

The census for 1850 showed a population of 4,533, although only 669 voted in the mayoralty election. There must have been a preponderance of women and minors. By this time, too, much had happened to change the physical character of Springfield. In 1837 it had become the capital of the state, and there, by 1840, in the center of town stood the proof! People of the fifties gazed at their Statehouse in pride and awe, for there was nothing then that approached it in height and grandeur. I wonder if some of their admiration was not for its perfect Greek proportions. In that respect the building is still beautiful, even though dwarfed by large business structures, and humiliated by the anachronism of an English basement added in 1900.

Better hotels and churches were built, brick sidewalks

were laid downtown, and the city was considering its first paving project—heavy planks to be placed over the mud around the square. Then there would be fewer wet feet, and therefore fewer colds and sore throats.

An isolation hospital was built northwest of the city in 1863. It was spoken of in horror as "the pest house," and wherever possible people continued to be nursed in their own homes. In 1875, twenty members of the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis came to Springfield, and for four years nursed the indigent sick. More of the order arrived, and in 1879 they built the original St. John's Hospital. Springfield Hospital, the Protestant forerunner of Memorial Hospital, was organized by the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church, which purchased, on February 8, 1897, for use as a hospital, the Dr. William O. Langdon home at the northwest corner of Fifth Street and North Grand Avenue. This property was several times remodeled, and it is now a nurses' home for Memorial Hospital.

As in almost any city, the story of water is the story of progress and of health. The period from the days when the first settlers washed their clothes in the Branch, through those of the pump and horse trough on the Square, followed by the patent chain pumps, the artesian well and reservoirs, to the building of a city-sized waterworks on the Sangamon River amounted to forty-nine years. The artesian well did not retain enough water to extinguish a small fire, but while digging it a thick vein of coal was discovered—the first intimation that this was to become a great coal mining district.

A private company had agreed to supply the city with ample water but failed to meet its obligations. Perhaps that was partly due to a scarcity of men and materials in wartime, but by 1865, with a population of over 16,000, something had to be done soon. Two Springfield doctors were prime movers: Dr. William Jayne, son of the first doctor, earnestly advised

the Council to purchase the privately owned company, and to assume the financial responsibility of building an adequate waterworks; Dr. Henry Wohlgemuth made the motion that the mayor appoint a Waterworks Board who would at once proceed to inspect plants in other cities and hire specialists to advise them. The city must assume a large indebtedness, some of which could be repaid from earnings.

The Council agreed, and the mayor appointed a Board composed of John Williams, Charles R. Matheny, and Reuben F. Ruth. Ruth was unable to serve, and Dr. Wohlgemuth was named in his place. For the next three years the waterworks project was the most discussed subject the town had known since the war. It had cost $413,067.48 by August, 1868, when water at last was pumped into 80,000 feet of pipe, and the "Works" were formally opened. It was forty years later that Springfield's great civic leader, Willis J. Spaulding, began his arduous but successful campaign for a lake, a treatment plant, and a metropolitan-sized waterworks which supply the multiple needs of today.

The records in the City Hall are rich in ambiguous statements, never in the world intended as wit, but amusing to our lighter-minded generation. A favorite among them is the motion made in all seriousness, which, as a doctor's wife, I should hesitate to quote, since it so neatly disposes of the whole medical profession! The Illinois Medical Society met here in 1868, while the Lincoln tomb was being constructed. Of course everyone wanted to see the great monument. It was approached by the almost equally new Fifth Street car line. Soon after the medics' visit this motion appears in the Council proceedings: "Resolved: Thanks of the Council to the officers of the City Railway Co. for furnishing all the doctors with free passes to the graveyard."

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN GODFREY, THE PRAIRIE PROPHET

BY B. W. DENISON

IN the spring of 1838, on a wild prairie in southwestern Illinois, there was opened an institution far in advance of the time—ahead in thought and in execution for that locale. It was Monticello Female Seminary, conceived, built, and equipped by Benjamin Godfrey, a former sea captain, hailing from Chatham, on Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

Monticello was the first large school erected west of the Alleghenies exclusively for the higher education of young women. Jacksonville Female Academy opened nearly five years earlier, but it was not as pretentious, either in construction, capacity, scope of curriculum, or caliber of administrative staff and instructors. Nor was it a boarding school; students had to find lodging and meals in the town.

While the seminary was probably Godfrey's greatest achievement, there were other accomplishments that should place him near the top of notables in Illinois. A resolute,

B. W. Denison now lives in Chicago following a long career as a newspaperman on the staffs of New York, Chicago and St. Louis papers. He has written a book-length biography of Benjamin Godfrey, of which this article is the first chapter. His nearly life-long interest in his subject was aroused by the fact that his mother's girlhood home was a small farm adjoining the campus of Monticello Seminary. Mr. Denison is also the author of the recent book, Alaska Today *(Caldwell, Idaho, 1950).*

tenacious, reticent man, he left scant record of his activities in written form.

The Rev. Augustus T. Norton, early Alton Presbyterian minister, editor, missionary zealot, and member of Monticello's board of trustees for many years, wrote a succinct tribute to Benjamin Godfrey, which is one of the few summaries of his western life: "He said little but did much. Built a church here (Alton), founded Monticello Seminary, helped to organize the Godfrey Church; helped build the C. & A. Railroad, and was always a power. His memory is forever enshrined."[1]

Godfrey did more than *help* build the Chicago and Alton Railroad. Almost singlehanded—financially and as overseeing contractor—he constructed the line from Alton to Springfield, after two other men had failed.

Though he did not openly advocate emancipation of the Negroes, Captain Godfrey was firmly antislavery. He befriended Elijah P. Lovejoy, or at least he stood by men comprising his original board of trustees, who were abolitionists and supporters of Lovejoy. Godfrey himself was an admirer and friend of Thomas Jefferson, and he adhered to the precepts of the author of the Declaration of Independence. He named his school Monticello as an honor to Jefferson.

The founding of the institution came too soon for advocacy of woman suffrage, yet the principles that Godfrey followed, and the high level at which he held women's usefulness in the American scene, establish clearly that he regarded them worthy of the ballot.

John Drury, in his brief mention of Godfrey and his "mansion" in *Old Illinois Houses* says: "In view of Captain Godfrey's earlier career, it is somewhat surprising that such a man should found a college for 'females'."

At the request of the Rev. Theron Baldwin, leader of the famed Illinois "Yale Band" and the Captain's Good Man

[1] Gilson Brown, "Centennial Address, First Presbyterian Church, Alton," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXIV, no. 2 (July, 1931), 317.

Friday in launching Monticello, Godfrey wrote an explanation which answers Drury's puzzlement. It is the longest document, and the most germane that this author has found from Godfrey's pen:

> One morning in 1832, (at Alton) while lying in bed somewhat indisposed, my wife came into the room, and as she went out made some remarks. One of our little children, that had just begun to lisp a few words, caught the remark, and while playing by itself on the floor, repeated it over and over for some time. This led me to reflect on the powerful effect of a mother's example on the minds, manners, and habits of their offspring, and the no less powerful influence that females have over society at large. The mind is formed to a great extent in childhood, and while under the direct care of the mother. From the time it can lisp, and even before, it goes to her with all its little troubles and difficulties, its pleasures and pains, and her kind participation in all its concerns endears it so closely, and gives it such implicit confidence in her, that it takes for granted any thing she does or says is right, and is actuated accordingly.
>
> In regard to the effect of female example over society, I need not make any remarks. It is a fact long acceded, that to a very great and important extent, women govern and control it. Hence, the great necessity of their being qualified for these important and responsible situations in this life which God, in His infinite wisdom, has assigned to them.
>
> With these reflections, the idea came into my mind to erect a Seminary, in which females could, with the blessing of God, be prepared to discharge their numerous, arduous and responsible duties. After consulting my wife as to the propriety of such a step, to which she acceded unhesitatingly, and being desirous to act the part of a faithful steward of what God had placed in my possession, I resolved to devote so much of it as would erect a building, to be devoted to moral, intellectual, and domestic improvement of females, particularly those whose MEANS WERE LIMITED.[2]

With this determination in mind, Captain Godfrey set forth on a tremendous task—physically, mentally, and financially, for Illinois was a green country in the early 1830's. In building a four-story stone structure, properly divided into classrooms, library, living rooms, dining and culinary departments, adequately equipped to house eighty girls and their teachers, he was confronted by many difficulties.

Godfrey had to build roads from the dirt state highway to the quarries in Alton. He had to cut native trees and erect

[2] MS at Monticello Seminary.

a mill to saw hard timber for joists, rafters, and flooring. He brought carpenters and other workers from the East, and had to build homes to house them. Building was not alien to Alton, or even on the prairies, but not one-twentieth of the help for such a mammoth structure as he planned was available in the community.

This was the physical job. Not secondary to it was the pondering over his administrative and teaching staff. The Captain was not a tyro in the world of culture. He had met educated men and women in New England, and though Theron Baldwin's journal states that Godfrey said he would not go ahead with Monticello unless the scholarly pastor-missionary agreed to act as supervisor, there is no evidence of that beyond Baldwin's assertion.

But this statement of Baldwin's has been passed along until even the present members of the Seminary's administrative staff accept it. The 1950-1951 catalogue, under the heading of "General Information—History," says: "Godfrey's decision to establish a female college was contingent upon Baldwin's willingness to take charge of organizing and directing the school."

As the Yale Band founder was a Christian and an honest man, there is no doubt that Godfrey made such a declaration, but the fact has been overlooked that he was a smart manipulator and could well have flattered Baldwin to win him over, for the missionary, like most successful men, was something of an egotist.

Godfrey knew Catherine Beecher, Emma Willard, Mary Lyon and others in the East. He said to Baldwin: "Visit these brilliant women, familiarize yourself with their activities and plans, telling them of ours, and get their advice." The Yale Band disciple did a good job at this. He called at many schools. Miss Lyon, who was building Mount Holyoke, suggested several teachers who might be available to head Monticello.

MONTICELLO FEMALE SEMINARY—From a Lithograph in an 1852-1853 Catalogue

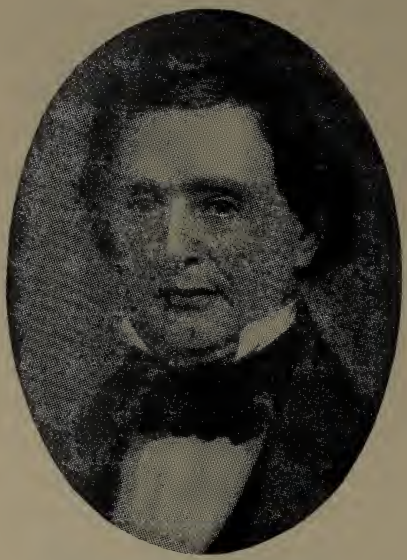
Meanwhile, Godfrey, who had a wife, eight children, and a huge mercantile business in Alton, began looking about for a home worthy of his station and family. He found a stone house on the stage road to Jacksonville and Springfield, only a mile north of the site he later chose for his school. Calvin Riley, an Alton merchant, had built it in 1831-1833.

Godfrey bought the Riley house in 1833, raised it half a story, and put on a north wing, making it an abode of twelve large rooms, many wainscoted with native hardwoods, and with comfortable verandas. Thereafter, this was known as "Captain Godfrey's Mansion." It still stands today, in possession of William L. Waters, an archaeologist of note, and is more beautiful than ever.

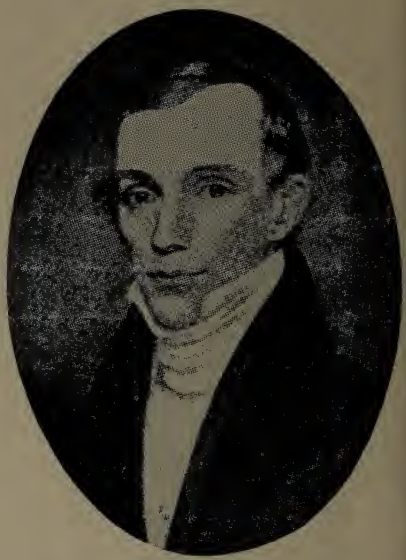
Construction of Monticello Seminary began early in 1836. As the huge walls of white and gray stone mounted skyward, gaping pioneers stood around and laughed at it. They called it "Godfrey's Folly," one predicting that ultimately it would be turned into an orphans' asylum, another saying it would become a barn. Many early settlers in south central and southwestern Illinois were allergic to higher education. In planting and harvest time they needed their children on the farms—female as well as male. The man who invented the McCormick harvester meant more to them than the schoolmaster.

Even the more enlightened class in the Illinois General Assembly were against pressing too hard on education. It was easier to get a charter for an imaginary railroad, far ahead of time or possibility of building it, than it was to obtain one for a college. Shurtleff, McKendree, and Illinois colleges were held up for five years in attempts to get a legal charter.

Godfrey's aide, Theron Baldwin, was a sagacious missionary-educator. One of the first things he did when he came west to Jacksonville in 1829 to help found Illinois College was to assign plots of ground to students for the raising of vegetables and even small crops of grain so the products would help finance them at school. He also instituted short courses in



BENJAMIN GODFREY



REV. THERON BALDWIN

agriculture, thereby making Illinois College virtually the first agricultural school in the Midwest. Farmers appreciated that, and Baldwin's sermons were welcomed in farming communities where sometimes other pastors found meager congregations. Godfrey took notice of this sensible move by Baldwin, and it was one reason he wanted the Yale divinity scholar to join his task in projecting Monticello Seminary, not that he wanted to train farmerettes, but he *did* want the esteem of the farmers.

The Captain was interested in politics, and frequently made trips to Vandalia when it was the state capital. While he was building his seminary, he made such a visit, possibly in the interest of establishing his right to a charter, and sent the following letter to Baldwin:

VANDELLA *{sic}*
5TH JANY 1837

DEAR SIR

I reached this place This Day and so far as I have been able to Discover there Is No person so Much needed here as our Mutual friend Mr. T. Turner.

If you see him I would advise you to Recomend his being at this place be fore the adjournment of The Legislature which will not be for about 5 or Six weakes *{sic}* from This [time]. This is now a Terrible place. Greate Room for Reforme.

YOURS IN HAST
B. GODFREY.

Revd. Theron Baldwin

P.S. I feal Convicted that profest [*sic*] Christians neglect or Do not pay that attention to The Elections That they should Do and that it is high Time that they should Give this subject more of their mind.—B.G.

The Mr. T. Turner, referred to by Godfrey, was Timothy Turner, temperance agent for Illinois in 1837, having served in a similar position in New York the previous year. He was a stanch friend of the Captain and of the religious group of men chosen as his supporters in the initial years of Monticello.

Godfrey was not necessarily a teetotaler, but he abhorred excessive use of intoxicants. The charter for his school stipulated that no liquor was to be sold within a mile of its confines. Furthermore, he contributed $2,000 to make Alton a dry town (unsuccessfully). His letter to Baldwin outlining how the inspiration to found Monticello came, and the ensuing perpetual deed of trust to his trustees, show clearly that he was a Christian. But that is not how he explained his stand against liquor. He told friends that during his days as merchantman trader in alien ports, he found that without the use of intoxicants himself, he could get the better of deals with men who had indulged in them. He listed temperance as among life's advantages from a practical standpoint, and for that reason adhered to it.

The Captain was daring, but not reckless. Before the actual operation of railroads in Illinois, he foresaw what their usefulness would be, not only to the farmer and the shipper, but to his school. That is why he risked practically all his fortune to build and refinance the Alton and Sangamon road, from his city to Springfield, seventy-two miles, and the initial link of the Chicago and Alton—now the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio. In reality, Godfrey was a prophet of the prairies.

BACK-YARD ARCHAEOLOGY AT LINCOLN'S HOME

BY RICHARD S. HAGEN

WHEN Abraham Lincoln departed from Springfield in 1861 with his well-remembered "affectionate farewell," he could not have dreamed that the house in which he and his family had lived for sixteen years and which had seen the birth of three sons and the death of one, would one day be a center of interest and inspiration for all who have been in any way touched by the study of his life. Now more than half a million visitors pass through the Lincoln Home each year.

During the past ninety years many changes have been made. We now, in our desire to see the house as it was in Lincoln's time, regard with regret such alterations, even though earlier they doubtless seemed both necessary and desirable. Mrs. Lincoln set a pattern of change for the house by having it altered in 1856 from a story-and-a-half cottage to a larger two-story dwelling. Lincoln did not like fireplaces and had them bricked up to install wood stoves.

Richard S. Hagen, of Chicago, has been archaeologist for the Illinois Department of Public Works and Buildings, Division of Architecture and Engineering, for the past four years. He studied at the University of Chicago and at the University of Puerto Rico while stationed in the Caribbean during military service. Before conducting the excavations at the Lincoln home Hagen did archaeological work at Bishop Hill, Galena and New Salem. For two years he carried out excavations at Starved Rock which led to the identification of Fort St. Louis.

Between 1861 and the present, the house has borne the marks of our general technical progress: gas lights were installed, later to be superseded by electricity; the Home has endured several heating systems and is now connected to the municipal heating plant; a kitchen and porch were added to the rear in the 1890's; the original cistern and well were filled in when no longer needed, and the outbuildings of Lincoln's time were torn down. All such changes were admittedly necessary when made, but they did result in drastic alterations to the original appearance of the Home.

With popular interest in the Home unabating, the state of Illinois has embarked upon a program of restoration which is to be as complete as available information will permit. To help in this the resources of many scientific fields are being marshaled. One is archaeology, which has long since been removed from its earlier preoccupation with pre-history and is now being used as a tool to disclose many fairly recent facts which time and ubiquitous dirt have buried.

One of the primary aims in the restoration program is to reconstruct the outbuildings which once stood in the now empty back yard. The existence of such structures is attested in various letters, in old photographs, and in a fire insurance policy taken out by Lincoln in 1861 to cover the house and outbuildings. But in none of these sources could sufficient information be found to permit an accurate reconstruction of the Lincolns' carriage house, woodshed, and privy. It was decided to undertake archaeological excavations in the hope of obtaining the needed architectural details; the results of such digging, carried out during August and September, 1951, have yielded such facts that the reconstruction can now be done.

Before shovels began turning any earth, recourse was made to available Lincoln records for clues that might guide the digging. The most valuable lead came from the insurance policy. Issued by the Hartford Fire Insurance Company on

THE LINCOLN HOME IN 1865— The Woodshed Gave a Clue to the Architect

February 8, 1861, it insured "Abraham Lincoln of Springfield Illinois against loss or damage by fire to the amount of . . . Three Thousand and Two Hundred Dollars." Three thousand dollars was "on his frame two story dwelling House to Rent. Front part being 20 by 39 feet. Rear 22 by 24 feet. Porch South Side of Rear Part 7 by 24 feet. Front part covered with Shingles. Rear covered with Metal." Seventy-five dollars was "On his frame Carriage House 18 by 20 feet. 60 feet East of Dwelling." One hundred and twenty-five dollars was "On his frame wood House and Privy 13 by 50 feet adjoining Carriage House and 78 feet East of Dwelling. All situated on south 10 feet of Lot 7 and Lot 8 Block 10. E. Iles addition to Springfield Illinois."

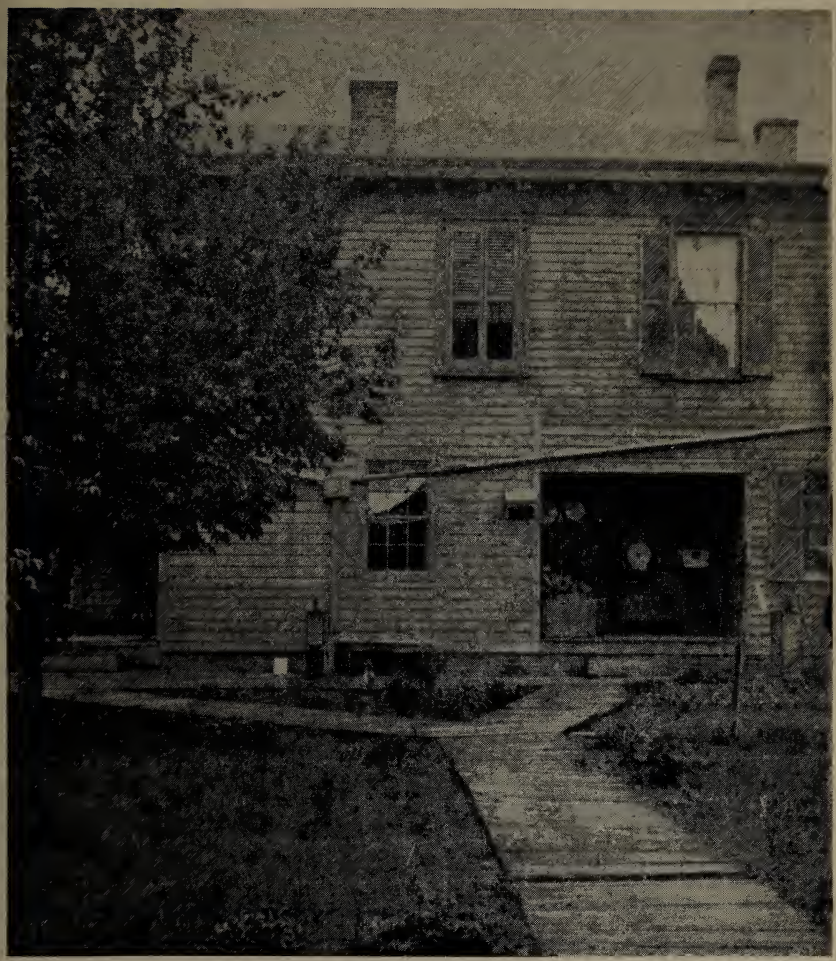
With these measurements in mind, excavations were begun in the back yard some fifty feet east of the house and "test trenches" were carried eastward into the areas where the outbuildings once stood. "Test trenches" have the purpose of ascertaining the nature of the soil wherever it has not been disturbed by human activity. Once he has seen the undisturbed soil situation the archaeologist is then able to recognize all those places where the soil has been turned up or removed, such as postholes, trenches for foundation walls, and privy pits. Throughout all his history man has never been able to occupy a part of the earth without leaving behind him traces of the construction and destruction attendant upon his way of life. It has been by studying such traces, by analyzing the rubbish of the past, that archaeologists have opened up several hundred thousand years of human history.

At the Lincoln Home archaeology was dealing with a relatively recent human occupation, but the techniques used for extracting information from the dirt in the back yard were the same that would be employed in excavating a 10,000-year-old Indian camp site. The archaeologist "reads" the soil; he cuts straight-walled trenches and examines the sides for "cross-sections" of garbage pits, postholes and foundations; by remov-

ing the upper levels of cultivated soil and cleaning off a "floor" at the level of undisturbed soil the excavator reveals where the latter has been penetrated during the construction of various architectural features. All such disturbances are mapped and co-ordinated, and when the digging is complete there usually results a pattern of disturbances which permits the reconstruction of the original structure. Sometimes, of course, the results are disappointing; it frequently happens that in a populated area, later structures will obliterate traces of earlier ones. This seems to have happened in the present instance: during construction of a barn by Osborn H. Oldroyd, custodian of the Home from 1887 to 1893, such remains of the old Lincoln woodshed as would have been of interest to an archaeologist were almost obliterated, although there did survive sufficient traces of postholes to give the exact location of the shed.

The first "find" of note during the excavations was a one-cent piece dated 1857, discovered a foot below the present soil surface and within the area once occupied by the carriage house. Coins are always of interest and often of importance in archaeology, since they are excellent "dating" tools. However, they must be used with the knowledge of the years of circulation. An 1857 penny, for example, could have been deposited where this one was found at any time from its minting up to its disappearance from general circulation. Therefore, although one is tempted to regard it as having been dropped from the pocket of a member of the Lincoln family, he must restrain himself and see it only as a curiosity. The same must be said for a large brass key found in the same area, although it may be that when cleaned this key will fit one of the original locks in the house. Then, indeed, we could hypothesize the Lincolns' temporary distress at being locked out!

Square, hand-made iron nails were material items which turned up in abundance during the digging. These we can quite definitely associate with the Lincoln outbuildings, for between the time of the latter, which were constructed when



THE LINCOLN BACK YARD ABOUT 1865

This picture was issued by a Springfield photographer as one of a stereopticon series soon after Lincoln's death, so it could have been taken at that time or earlier.

only such square nails were available, and the time of the Oldroyd barn, built after machine-made wire nails had been introduced, there is no evidence of any construction in the back yard. A similar dichotomy or division into two time periods exists in the kind of bricks discovered. The earlier

foundation bricks, used in the Lincoln structures, are subject to great fluctuation in size and shape resulting from the use of hand molds and crude firing, while the later bricks are uniform in size and evenly fired. Furthermore, a yellow sandy mortar which had greatly disintegrated was found between the bricks of Lincoln's day (where they remained intact), while later brickwork was laid with a grey lime mortar which has held up very well. Setting up such distinct types in nails and bricks permitted identification of several small architectural features which were initially baffling. For example, one squared pile of six bricks was undoubtedly a post footing or support, but its architectural affinity was only established because the bricks were of the early type.

The first building to be identified was the carriage house, whose measurements correspond to those given in the insurance policy. The structure was located as an area of heavily mixed, disturbed soil with battered piles of brick at each corner. The latter are assumed to be the remains of supports for the corner posts of the structure. Cautious work with trowels inside the carriage house area disclosed several trough-like lines running east and west; these may be old wheel ruts and would indicate that the carriage entered from the east, through doors facing the alley. Within the disturbed soil were found several bridle rings and other hitching paraphernalia, all of which support the identification of the carriage house.

The woodshed has been located through a series of post-holes which give the sides and corners of the structure. Neither the carriage house nor the woodshed was a very substantial building. They did not possess the brick footings which would have been necessary for architectural sturdiness and long life. However, all supporting posts were given sunken brick supporting. Much material was uncovered in the wood-shed area: an iron axe head, appropriately placed; an unbroken glass bottle labeled "Balsam of Wild Cherry," which is now in process of being dated; several hundred square nails; many

rusted iron objects which will have to be cleaned before identification is made; and hundreds of pieces of broken china and crockery. Some of the latter bear maker's marks and can thus be identified and dated.

The richest find of material was made in what must once have been a trash and garbage pit located just west of and outside the woodshed. From this six-foot-deep hole came fragments of glass window panes ("There was a broken pane of glass each side of front door—," wrote Benjamin Seaver to his wife Lucy in 1860); four china dolls' heads along with some legs and hands; fragments of black silk ribbon and of woven wool cloth; two broken combs; three brush handles; the carved top of an alabaster pin box; a long tortoise-shell pin; two brass belt buckles; six amber glass marbles; four all-slate pencils; three small medicine bottles and a perfume bottle, all hand-blown; many fragments of stemmed glassware; hundreds of pieces of white "ironware" china; and sufficient fragments of a white china chamber pot to permit its reconstruction. The overall nature of this material would date it as of Lincoln's time, but a more intensive study of it will probably yield more precise identification. If associated with the Lincolns, the contents of the rubbish pit will someday make an intriguing display inside the house.

Before excavation began much thought had been given to the privy or privies which would be encountered. There were no clues to locate such a structure; the insurance policy simply states "woodshed and privy," which would picture them as one building. Since the digging of a privy pit would involve a deep disturbance of the soil there would be little difficulty in identifying it through merely "reading" the dirt, but it was also assumed that such a pit would have to be bricked up or otherwise supported to prevent washing-out or collapse. Excavation provided answers to such earlier questions.

Three privies were uncovered during the back-yard archaeology. The first one encountered was close beside the Oldroyd

barn and was easily dismissed as a relatively recent structure because of the brick and mortar used.

The second privy was found within the woodshed and possessed some puzzling features: its greatest depth was not more than four feet, only three sides were walled with brick, and the brick walls were not more than seven or eight courses deep. The fill was heavily organic; it must have served some waste disposal function. The puzzle of this privy was disposed of in two ways. First, several "old-timers" who had displayed constant interest in the excavations suggested that it could have been a shallow privy which was not dug very deep because it was emptied every year. Second, the privy just described lost its importance when a third privy was discovered just outside of and west of the woodshed.

The last privy seems the one most definitely associated with the Lincoln occupancy. It is brick-lined to a depth of six feet and the brick and mortar used appear to be the earliest types. The measurements are roughly four and one-half feet east-west and five and one-half feet north-south. The construction of this privy is in accord with the Springfield city ordinances of 1851. The material within the privy was sparse, only a few fragments of china being recovered, but there was one indicative lack: no square nails were found in the dirt fill of the privy. This would mean that this privy was filled and closed before the deterioration or destruction of the other Lincoln outbuildings resulted in the distribution of such nails throughout the soil of the back yard.

There is available, then, sufficient information to warrant an authentic reconstruction of the outbuildings which were once an integral part of the Lincolns' Springfield home. At the present time research is being concentrated on the interior of the house, where much must be done before it can be completely opened to the public. But eventually it will be possible to point to the Lincoln Home and say not only, "This is *where* Abraham Lincoln lived," but also, "This is *how* he lived."

LEWIS B. PARSONS: MOVER OF ARMIES AND RAILROAD BUILDER

BY HARRY E. PRATT

ONE of the interesting and significant aspects of Civil War transportation for the Union armies in the West, by rail and river, can now be written. The Illinois State Historical Library has acquired the papers of Brevet Major General Lewis Baldwin Parsons. General Parsons was Chief of Railroad and River Transportation for the Department of the Mississippi, with headquarters at St. Louis from December, 1861 until September, 1864, when he was called to Washington to hold the same position for the entire country.

The Parsons Papers, which filled three large military chests, include, in Civil War material, some 5,000 letters, telegrams and reports received and a dozen copybooks of letters and telegrams dispatched. There are digests of letters which were received and then forwarded, and copies of lists of the cargoes carried for the government under contract by rail and steamer. There are letters received from half a hundred ship captains and owners and from the officials of more than a dozen railroads. There are extensive materials on the important role of the Illinois Central Railroad in the Civil War.

The application of steam to transportation made possible for the first time the concentration of troops and supplies at distant points. Parsons controlled 350 steamers and barges on nearly 20,000 miles of river navigation. As an illustration of the shipping needed for the armies in the West, Parsons supplied at St. Louis, in the year ending June 30, 1863, transporta-

tion for 245,000 tons of supplies, 329,000 troops, 82,000 horses and mules and 25,000 cattle. His assistants had similar requests at Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Cairo, Memphis, and New Orleans.

This "mover of armies" provided the transportation for General Grant's 15,000 men up the Tennessee River for the siege of Fort Henry. In December, 1862, with only seven days' notice he moved General Sherman's army, of forty thousand men, with cavalry, artillery, and animal transportation, from Memphis for an attack on Vicksburg. This took nearly eighty steamers. His movement of troops which Parsons considered most successful was the transfer of General Schofield's Twenty-third Army Corps from Clifton, on the Tennessee, to the Potomac. Twenty thousand men were moved in the bitter cold of January, 1865, in eleven days, without accident or loss of life.

General Parsons was very proud of his ancestry—Coronet Joseph Parsons had arrived in New England in 1636 and later founded Northampton, Massachusetts. Parsons' mother belonged to the Hoar family who had come to New England in 1640. There is extensive genealogical material on both families in the Papers, including a group of letters from Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts. The General was born on April 5, 1818, in Genesee County, New York. His early childhood was spent in Homer, New York, where his father was a successful merchant. Lewis B. Parsons, Sr., traveled considerably from 1838 until his death in 1855, and his son's papers contain letters from many places. Of especial interest are those from Texas in 1846.

Lewis entered Yale in 1836 where his inadequate scholastic background necessitated long hours of study which resulted in a breakdown in health. After a short interim, however, he resumed his studies and was graduated. Journeying to Mississippi in 1840 he took charge of a classical school in Noxubee County for two years.

Returning to the East by way of Galena, Milwaukee, and the Great Lakes, he enrolled in the Harvard Law School, graduating in 1844. For sixty years he carried on correspondence with his fellow students at Yale and Harvard. Several hundred of these letters are in his Papers, including many from Chief Justice John A. Peters of the Supreme Court of Maine.

Borrowing $600, Parsons went to Alton, Illinois, and entered into a law partnership with Newton D. Strong, brother of Justice William Strong of the United States Supreme Court. In 1846 he formed a partnership with Henry W. Billings. They became close business associates, and this friendship continued for years after Parsons' removal to St. Louis in 1854. The collection contains many letters from Judge Billings.

Parsons became the attorney for Page & Bacon, St. Louis bankers, then engaged in building the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad (now the Baltimore and Ohio) from St. Louis to Cincinnati. He became deeply interested in the road, as attorney and financial agent, and after its completion in 1857, served it at various times as treasurer, director, and president. While on a tour of the proposed right-of-way Parsons saw a beautiful stretch of unbroken prairie near Flora, Illinois, which he purchased and developed into a model farm of 2,800 acres. Naming it Elmwood Farm, he resided there from 1875 until his death in 1907.

He formed a close friendship with George B. McClellan, vice-president of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad in 1860. When McClellan was called to command the Army of the Potomac, Parsons became a captain on his staff. The post, however, offered no challenge, and on October 31, 1861, he was transferred to the quartermaster's department at St. Louis. This appointment was the result of Lincoln's note to Secretary of War Cameron, September 17, 1861: "I personally know Mr. Parsons & have no doubt he would make a good Paymaster, Qr Master, or Commissary." His first service by appoint-

ment of General Samuel R. Curtis, was on a commission, with Captains Philip Sheridan and Henry M. Hoyt, to examine the great mass of claims that had arisen under Frémont's administration.

Because of his manifested superior business and executive ability he received from General Robert Allen, quartermaster at St. Louis, the following order, dated December 9, 1861: "You will take charge of all the transportation pertaining to the department of the Mississippi by river and railroad and discharge all employees not required to facilitate this particular service."

Parsons brought order out of the chaos created by General Frémont with new regulations designed to meet the large scale demands of civil war. He took personal charge of many of the important troop movements, leaving his brother, Captain Charles Parsons, in charge of the St. Louis office. There are more than two hundred letters from Charles to Lewis in the Papers.

President Lincoln wrote to the Secretary of War, March 9, 1865:

> I have long thought that Col. Lewis B. Parsons of the Quarter Master's Department, ought to be promoted; and this impression has been deepened by his great success in the recent matter of transporting troops from the West to the East. Is there any legal obstacle in the way? If not, let the promotion be made at once.

This letter and one from Lincoln of March 17, 1865, on the same subject are in the Papers as is a fine letter from General Grant of May 20, 1865. He wrote:

> I have long contemplated writing you and expressing my satisfaction with the manner in which you have discharged the very responsible and difficult duties of Superintendent of river and railroad transportation for the armies both in the west and east.

The original of this and a dozen others from Grant are in the Parsons Papers.

In 1847 Parsons married Sarah G. Edwards, the daughter of Dr. Benjamin F. Edwards of St. Louis and niece of Illinois'

Governor Ninian Edwards. She died in 1850 and two years later he married her younger sister Julia. Two children of this marriage, Charles and Julia, survived their parents. The mother died in 1857. There are approximately one hundred letters of Dr. Edwards and his daughters.

In 1867-1869, accompanied by Susan, his eldest daughter, Parsons traveled over Europe from Ireland to Sweden and Russia, thence to Constantinople, through Egypt, the Holy Land and on to India. More than a hundred letters written by the tourists, and Susan's diaries, are in the Papers.

The following winter he married Elizabeth Darrah of New York City. He continued his interest in railroads, serving as director of the Ohio and Mississippi and the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern, and for three years was president of a bank in St. Louis.

In 1875 he aided in establishing Parsons College in Fairfield, Iowa. His father had left considerable property to found a college of the Presbyterian faith in the state of Iowa. General Parsons and his brother Charles took an active interest in the welfare of the institution.

Declining health caused General Parsons to forsake business life in 1875, and to move to his farm at Flora. Several hundred of his letters indicate his interest and wide knowledge of agriculture. (About 100 letters are from his farm manager during the Civil War.)

With improved health and the farm operation well in hand General Parsons renewed his interest in the Democratic Party. He refused the nomination for Congress in 1878, but in 1880 he accepted the nomination for lieutenant governor with his long-time friend, Lyman Trumbull, the candidate for governor. The Parsons Papers have some three hundred letters covering campaign activities in 1879 and 1880. A copybook contains Parsons' replies to many of the letters. In 1893, at the age of seventy-five, Governor John P. Altgeld appointed him president of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois Soldiers'

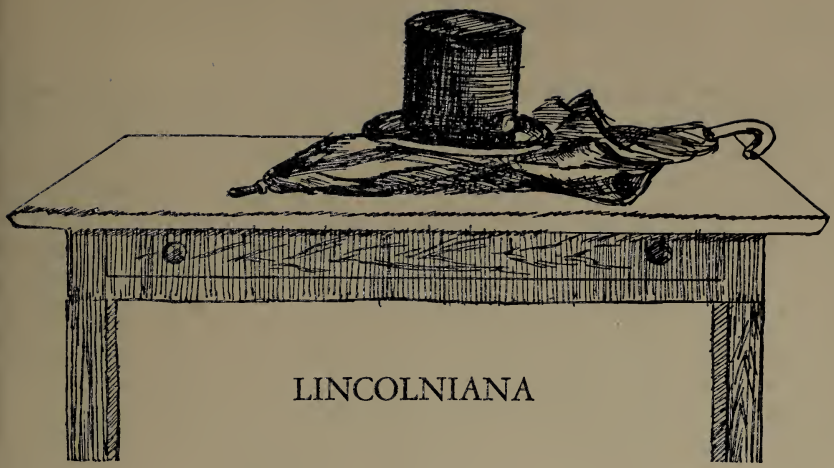
and Sailors' Home at Quincy, an office which brought him much pleasure for four years.

A close friend and business associate of General Parsons was William S. Holman, a member of Congress from Indiana for thirty years. Letters from Holman to Parsons are numerous and span the period from 1856 to 1885. The Parsons Papers contain many letters from his three brothers, Charles, president of a bank in St. Louis; Philo, a prominent businessman in Detroit; and Levi, engaged in the produce business in St. Louis.

Correspondence with the leading military and naval figures in the Civil War is extensive. Following is a selection of the better known generals with the number of letters and telegrams indicated in parentheses: Robert Allen (34); Francis P. Blair, Jr. (4); Ambrose E. Burnside (6); Samuel R. Curtis (16); Grenville M. Dodge (2); James L. Donaldson (3); Henry W. Halleck (20); James R. McPherson (10); Montgomery C. Meigs (57); John Pope (5); John M. Schofield (9); William T. Sherman (12); and William K. Strong (19). There are fifteen letters and telegrams from Rear Admiral David D. Porter.

Among the figures prominent in Illinois history who were correspondents of General Parsons, with the number of letters from them: Governor John P. Altgeld (10); General John C. Black (6); Orville H. Browning (3); General John M. Corse (10); David Davis (19); John M. Douglas (13); William D. Griswold (23); Gustave Koerner (8); Charles H. Lanphier (2); General John A. McClernand (10); Samuel S. Marshall (3); William R. Morrison (15); John H. Oberly (7); William H. Osborn (17); General John M. Palmer (13); William A. J. Sparks (18); Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson (13); Lyman Trumbull (14); Elihu B. Washburne (5); and Governor Richard Yates (4).

Eighteen indexed copybooks contain Parsons' replies to the above letters, and to thousands of others he wrote in directing military transportation in the Civil War.



LINCOLNIANA

GENERAL PARSONS WRITES OF LINCOLN'S DEATH

In the papers of Brevet Major General Lewis Baldwin Parsons, in the Illinois State Historical Library, are these two letters concerning Lincoln's assassination. They were written to his mother then living at Gouveneur, New York:

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE
WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 15 1865

MY VERY DEAR MOTHER

Terrible! Terrible!! Oh! how inexpressible is the feeling— at this awful news— The *President is dead—assassinated!* Crime most horrid— most damning— most infamous— Language utterly fails to express one sentiments— I can not begin to convey to you an idea of the shock gave to the City— The streets are full of people going to and fro— saying little, but with faces full of sadness and horror— mingled with deep indignation— The crime commited two or 3 years ago would have been less unexpected but now when the President was becoming more conservative— was opposing the radicals and urging conciliating measures toward the rebels— When the fight seems well nigh over just after so great victories this calamity was most unexpected— You will get all the particulars by telegraph long before this reaches you— It will be a sad blow for the rebels Johnson will hold a much more rigid rein Mercy will not so temper justice— and the wicked leaders had best leave the country before being caught—

I came back from a very severe trip West last week— almost broken down and have suffered so much from Rheumatism since as to be almost unfit for business— I applied again this week to Mr Stanton to be retired

and permited to resign but he said not yet— not yet— you must wait a little longer I think sixty days must let me off— I really feel that I can not stand so much as I have been accustomed to do— The war must soon close practically— and let most of the army out—I wrote Philo yesterday suggesting he sh[d] bring Ann Stiger with you. Sister and Emily to W. and we would go to Richmond— and proposing myself to pay all expenses of you sister and Emily from Geneva I hope he can do so. I do not know that you could come but if you could it would give me *great happiness* to go with you and show you all that is to be seen If you can not— I do not see why sister & Emily could not I would come for you if I could get away— With love & kisses to my dear children Are you not out of money for the children?

YOUR AFFCT SON
LEWIS

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE
WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 16 1865

MY EVER DEAR MOTHER

I wrote you day before yesterday [*sic*] and have no news today more than you will see from the paper I send you today which gives quite full particulars of the awful tragedy— I sat at Church today (Rev Dr Gurleys) directly behind the vacant pew of the President— wreathed in the symbol of woe— The remarks and prayers of Dr G. were impressive and solemn— but nothing so solemn to me as the recollection of seeing Mr Lincoln in the same now vacant seat when I last attended that church— His greeting then was so kind and he so full of life—and now he is no more—Dead—and in such an awful manner— I can not convey to you any idea of the cloud of sorrow which envelopes the entire city—It seems to penetrate everywhere— The city is full of people but there is no joy—sorrow and anxiety—are everywhere manifest— I never had such a shock, except in the deaths of some one of our dear family— Alas what is human greatness—a shadow I wish I could go and see you for I am painfully depressed—and sick at heart It would do me much good to see you and all at G.

History *no where* records a more terrible crime or complication of crimes Had Grant been present he no doubt would have been also killed or murdered The assault upon the sick and suffering Secretary [William H. Seward] was if possible more infamous than upon the President— It is believed the Secy will recover. This is a sad blow to the rebels— They have lost their best friend— The striking trait in Mr. Lincolns character was his leniency and kind heartedness He was ready to forgive to the last degree as soon as the rebels gave up Johnson will not be so forgiving— He has suffered personally, and much and

his feelings are severe I feel great solicitude for the future—Johnson is a man of much ability—strong sense—and I think an earnest patriot— I saw him stand up in the Senate faithful among the faithless and defy Jeff Davis and the whole crew of conspirators in 1860 '61— and I cant but respect him— I am told that before the rebellion he never drank at all— & hope he never will again, as it is said he has not since the inauguration With much love for my Dear ones your affectionate son

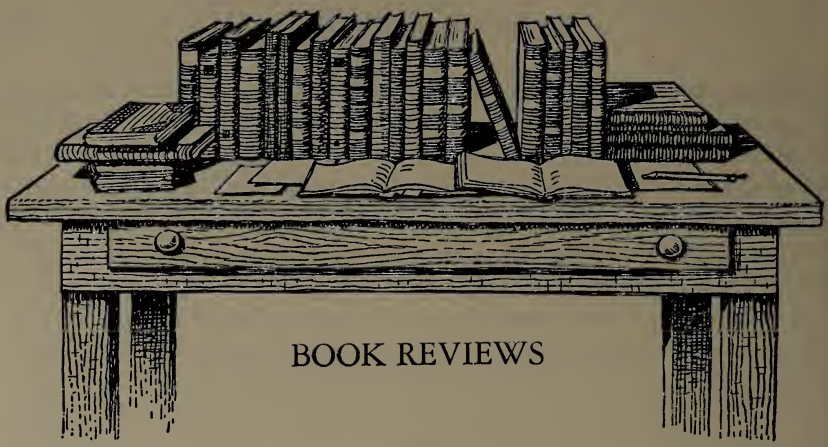
LEWIS

A VISIT TO CIVIL WAR HOSPITALS

Under the heading "Presidential Visit to the Hospitals" the following brief account was published in the *Daily National Republican* of Washington, D. C., on May 25, 1863:

The President, accompanied by Senator Doolittle, visited three of our principal hospitals, administering such consolation as he was able to the inmates. The visit was an unexpected pleasure to the poor fellows, confined by wounds and sickness, and the President expressed his great gratification at the improved condition of the hospitals and the comparatively comfortable condition of the patients. He shook hands with over one thousand soldiers, nearly all of whom were able to stand up and respond to the salutation. He found not more than three or four cases which are deemed entirely hopeless in his rounds.

The eyes of the soldiers glistened brightly as Father Abraham took them by the hand, and the interview was no doubt highly beneficial to them. Dr. Lydell, surgeon of the Stanton Hospital, remarked today that a perceptible difference in the appearance of those under his care was noted to-day—that the President's visit did them more good than any medicine he could have given them.



BOOK REVIEWS

Tyrant from Illinois: Uncle Joe Cannon's Experiment with Personal Power. By Blair Bolles. (W. W. Norton & Co.: New York, 1951. Pp. 248. $4.50.)

"If there is a man who is a traitor to the government and who deserves to be defeated," thundered Wisconsin's Robert M. La Follette in 1908, "it is Joe Cannon. The voice of the people is strangled and stifled by this man." "This man" was a septuagenarian from Danville, Illinois, remarkable for his choice curse words, his unvarying Republicanism—and for his one-man control over the United States Congress. As Speaker of the House, "Uncle Joe" packed committees with courtiers, strangled unwelcome suggestions in his rules committee, and developed a convenient nearsightedness when it came to recognizing dissident members who appealed from the floor. In a day when American politicians staggered under such names as Julius Caesar Burrows and Augustus Caesar Dodge, plain Joseph G. Cannon, without dodge or burrow, exercised his imperatorial authority with engaging frankness. "This House could pass an elephant," he gravely assured one protesting congressman, "if the gentleman in charge of it could catch the Speaker's eye." Autocrat of the House, Cannon checked the haughty pretensions of the Aldriches and the Lodges of the Senate and frustrated the programs of Roosevelt and Taft in the presidency.

In the McKinley period when the Congress, like the rest of the federal government, did nothing in particular and did it very well, Speaker Cannon's experiment in personal power could have passed unchallenged, but by 1906 younger Republicans of the progressive tribe of La Follette, Cummins and Norris had begun to chafe. *Tyrant from Illinois* is a close study of their four-year fight against Cannonism, and Blair Bolles considers their triumph over the Speaker in 1910 the first major step toward a "welfare state."

This well-informed book, which, though not annotated, is based upon a careful study of such source materials as Speaker Cannon's private papers, is both a lively biography and a realistic political analysis. If Cannon stands out in somewhat too bold relief, if, by contrast, Taft, Roosevelt and even La Follette cut small figures, these surely must be pardonable biographical failings. But since Bolles himself makes such a convincing case that Cannon never had an idea, never read anything except the *Congressional Record,* never was responsible for any major piece of legislation, it is more difficult to accept his conclusion that "As a stimulant to political thought Cannon has seldom had a peer."

The fact is that Cannonism did not represent thought at all, but a completely non-ideological approach to politics. Bolles performs a valuable service in reminding us that Cannon and his cohorts were as indigenous to the Mississippi Valley as were the La Follette insurgents. These Middle Western conservatives were, unlike some of their Eastern counterparts, not tools of monopolists; the *Chicago Tribune,* which condemned Cannon, admitted that the Speaker had been "standing like a stone wall against every kind of jobbery . . . in the House of Representatives for a generation." Yet, without exception, Cannon stood also against every progressive measure—the income tax, a lowered tariff, the forest conservation program, safeguards to labor. His conservatism was not a matter of economics but of emotion. Instinctively he tried to restore the good old days when minimal government and a straight Republican ticket had made America, as the Speaker tersely put it, "a hell of a success." And at the end of his life he was "not conscious of having done anything wrong."

Columbia University DAVID DONALD

Raymond of the Times. By Francis Brown. (W. W. Norton & Co.: New York, 1951. Pp. 345. $5.00.)

Henry Jarvis Raymond was President Lincoln's "lieutenant general in politics." One of the founders of the *New York Times,* and its first editor, his steady support of Lincoln's administration and expressed distrust of the Radicals was unique among New York newspaper editors. Trained in the *Tribune* office, and always an admirer of its eccentric editor, Horace Greeley, Raymond, an able politician, skilled parliamentarian, brilliant orator, perennial drafter of convention resolutions, is best remembered as a successful editor. Industrious and a facile writer of editorials, he, many times, had an exclusive "pipeline" to Lincoln in the White House.

Raymond was a firm supporter and friend of Seward and an intimate of Thurlow Weed. All three were keenly disappointed in 1860 when Lincoln was nominated over Seward at Chicago. The platform at the 1864 Union

Convention at Baltimore was Raymond's handiwork, and as chairman of the national committee he collected the sinews of war from government employees.

"I want to make the *Times* as strong as possible, in merit and interest," wrote Raymond. To do this he published the *facts,* in such a "form and temper as to lead men of all parties to rely upon its statements of facts, and then to discuss them in the light of truth and justice, and not of party interest." In a period of violent denunciation by editors of each other Raymond had a gift for friendship and a dislike of argument.

The author, a veteran *Times* man, has presented national events swiftly and with neatly edged portraits of Raymond in his rôle. The Lincoln collector will find it a *must* for his collateral shelf.

The only disappointment is the index, which is like the time table of a fast train that lists only a few stops. The 334-page book is indexed on five pages. The six pages of bibliographical notes are commendable.

H. E. P.

Powell of the Colorado. By William Culp Darrah. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, N. J., 1951. Pp. ix, 426. $6.00.)

John Wesley Powell was a schoolmaster, soldier, geologist and ethnologist, lecturer, and writer. He explored the canyons of the Colorado River by boat in 1868-1869, and later, as an agent of the federal government, investigated and mapped the whole area of the Colorado and its tributaries. As a result of several years work in the region, Powell became interested in the problem of settling the arid sections of the West, and was the advocate of government control of water supply and carefully regulated settlement. Later, when he became the second director of the United States Geological Survey (of which he was one of the promoters), he fought and lost the battle to retain government control of natural resources, especially water and land. He was later vindicated, when, from the time of Theodore Roosevelt on, a public irrigation and power program was undertaken.

Powell's second great contribution, not only to science, but to American culture, was his skillful promotion of the Bureau of [American] Ethnology as a part of the Smithsonian Institution program. For many years Powell directed the collection of all sorts of information about the customs, religion, arts and crafts, and languages of the American Indians.

For Illinoisans this biography has a special interest because Powell was a student at Wheaton and Illinois colleges, and a member of the faculties of Illinois Wesleyan and Normal universities, and was appointed to the faculty of the Illinois Industrial University (University of Illinois), although he never served. Powell was a student of Jonathan B. Turner and his associate in the organization of the Illinois State Natural History Society (which later

became the Illinois Natural History Survey). It was in Illinois that Powell, a self-taught geologist and naturalist, acquired much of his knowledge of the out-of-doors as he made many trips up and down the streams of the state, and it was under the sponsorship of the Natural History Society and the Illinois universities that his earlier explorations of the Colorado River country were made.

When Powell moved into the national sphere, he left his residence in Bloomington and made his home in Washington, where he soon became a leader in the scientific activities of the federal government during the 1880's and the 1890's. There is much in Powell's experience with government financed scientific endeavors that is pertinent to current problems of the promotion of the national interest through federal scientific agencies.

The author of this biography, a geologist by training, a practicing industrial scientist, and a student of the history of American science by avocation, has not only described and evaluated the scientific achievements of his subject, but he has integrated his story with contemporary history. Further, in the ten years or so in which Mr. Darrah "lived" with John Wesley Powell, he became intimately acquainted with the man's character, and he shares this knowledge with his readers, noting faults as well as virtues. May we have more such satisfying biographies of our American scientists.

MacMurray College WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

American Jewry and the Civil War. By Bertram W. Korn. (The Jewish Publication Society of America: Philadelphia, 1951. Pp. 331. $4.00.)

This volume is the excellent result of intensive and careful research into a subject upon which source material was both scarce and unreliable. It has to do with the struggle of an American Jewish community of about 150,000 people to take its place in the Civil War problems, both North and South. The author has avoided personal history and episodes in order to establish just how the Jews of that time met their never-ending struggle against prejudice and intolerance. It is the history of *the* Jews of America, not *some* Jews.

The author concerns himself mainly with the practical problems of treatment before the law, slavery and abolition, internal religious problems within the community itself, war experiences, bigotry, community consciousness, cultural and social aspects, and journalistic prejudices.

The one thing that impressed this reviewer was the author's presentation of the problems of a typical minority group at the beginning of what we may consider the development of our modern American way of life. It shows what one such group had to do to attempt to gain its equal share of respect and unhampered rights to freedom and just how far these attempts

met success. Problems of modern day affairs are shown to be strikingly similar, by implication rather than by comparison.

Of special interest is Korn's presentation of the causes, effects and indignation aroused by Grant's infamous order No. 11, expelling "the Jews, as a class," from the Department of the Tennessee. Much new material is used to bring out a fair treatment of that episode.

Briefly touched are Abraham Lincoln's relationships with various members of the Jewish community—interesting, sometimes mysterious, impersonal, influential, unimpressive, political, religious, and martial.

Chicago JOSEPH L. EISENDRATH, JR.

The Real Book About Abraham Lincoln. By Michael Gorham. (Garden City Books: Garden City, N. Y., 1951. Pp. 186. $1.25.)

The *Real Books* have been planned, written and illustrated for readers of eight to fourteen years. This new series will include many subjects of interest to this age group: baseball, dogs, dolls, trains and biographies. These "lively non-fiction books" are, says the publisher, "prepared with entertainment in mind."

The author knits together story after story and covers Lincoln's life in 162 pages. Each chapter opens with an illustration depicting some incident told in the chapter. The narrative moves along rapidly, with fifteen of the eighteen chapters given over to Lincoln's pre-presidential years.

Printed in large, readable type, there is a five-page chronology and eight pages of quotations from Lincoln's letters and speeches. There is an index, a fine feature not generally found in a book for young readers. The dust jacket, cover and end papers add their part in forming an attractive book. The low price of $1.25 should make it readily saleable. Errors in the text can be corrected in a later printing.

H. E. P.

Empire in Pine: The Story of Lumbering in Wisconsin 1830-1900. By Robert F. Fries. (The State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1951. Pp. 285. $4.00.)

Because of its close dependence upon geographical features the American lumbering industry has developed along regional lines. The author has limited his study to one of these regions, that part of the Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan area that lies within the boundaries of Wisconsin. It is the narrative of the industry's development, from the period of the 1830's—when New England lumber men first began exploiting the region's wood resources—to the near extinction of these resources toward the end of the century.

Fries' work places the regional history of the lumber industry in its broader setting of the nation. Using a topical approach he traces the changes which have taken place in lumbering, beginning with those dictated by the climate and topography, and including the modifications brought about by the use of steamboats, power saws, railroads, and other man-made improvements. Social influences are also treated, and the reactions of the lumber industry to such movements as large scale industrialization, war, employers' organization, and labor unions are told with an admirable objectivity. If the author has the usual academician's prejudice against men of wealth he does not reveal it in his writing. On the other hand his treatment of the lumberjacks, their aspirations and problems, is equally sympathetic.

The book throws a glimmer of light on frontier history. If democracy was a characteristic of some parts of the American frontier, Fries' study clearly shows that not all frontier regions developed along democratic lines. The lumberman's frontier was anything but democratic. A small aristocracy of lumber barons held an economic stranglehold on the industry which allowed them to control completely the social and economic pattern of the lumber camp. Delayed pay techniques checked any trend toward labor organization, and work contracts forced laborers to patronize company stores. Within the camps themselves other pressures worked to enforce control and regimentation—including that of the cook who demanded silence at the dinner table!

The volume's shortcomings are those frequently found in economic studies. Too often human interest is neglected for statistics and group descriptions. Instead of people the reader meets boom companies, labor unions, regional organizations, and lumbermen's associations. Even the speculators, wholesalers, lumberjacks, and conservationists, who move across the scene, lack life, and seem as wooden as the lumber they handle. A second weakness is the lack of detail to illustrate generalizations.

The author dug most of his information from newspapers and manuscripts in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He failed to use the excellent lumber material in the Cyrus Woodman papers in that library, although they contain much of the human interest material the book lacks. Since the story of lumbering is regional, and not exclusively intrastate, an examination of manuscripts in neighboring state and county libraries might also have proved fruitful.

Despite these imperfections the volume is an important contribution to American economic history. It is full of valuable information and written in a readable style. Like other recent publications of the Wisconsin Historical Society, it is printed and bound in a manner pleasing to the eye, and the nu-

merous photographic reproductions help the reader to visualize the material presented.

University of Wisconsin LARRY GARA

MAGAZINE ARTICLES OF INTEREST TO ILLINOISANS

"Lincoln, Johnson, and the Baltimore Ticket." By James F. Glonek. (*The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly,* March, 1951.) The political skirmishes that resulted in Johnson's supplanting Hamlin for vice-president.

"Lincoln and the Governance of Men." By J. G. Randall. (*The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly,* June, 1951.) An excellent article on Lincoln's knowledge of the art of human relations.

"Evaluating Historical Manuscripts." By Paul M. Angle. (*Autograph Collectors' Journal,* Summer, 1951.)

"Riot in Illinois." By John F. Reed. (*Autograph Collectors' Journal,* Fall, 1951.) Excerpts from depositions gathered after the 1864 draft riot at Charleston, Illinois.

"A Great Lakes Excursion: 1847 Style." By Mentor L. Williams. (*Inland Seas,* Fall, 1950.) Delegates to the Chicago River and Harbor Convention go on an excursion.

"Vacation Voyages on Inland Seas." By Paul T. Hurt, Jr. (*Inland Seas,* Summer, 1951.) Recollections of passenger ships on the Great Lakes from the early 1920's.

"Southern Sympathizers in Iowa During the Civil War Period." By Frank C. Arena. (*Annals of Iowa,* Jan., 1951.) A study of the Copperheads in Iowa.

"The Country Teacher." By Rosa Schreurs Jennings. (*Annals of Iowa,* July, 1951.) Entertaining reminiscences of country school teaching in the 1890's.

"New Salem's Miller and Kelso." By Fern Nance Pond. (*Lincoln Herald,* Dec., 1950.)

"Edward Dickinson Baker—Lincoln's Forgotten Friend." By John P. Snigg. (*Lincoln Herald,* Summer, 1951.)

"The Union Party Convention at Baltimore in 1864." By William Frank Zornow. (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* Sept., 1950.)

"The Right of Privacy as it Affects History and Genealogy." By Mark L. Ireland. (*Michigan History,* June, 1951.) The hazards of the local historian—the fine line between good taste and impertinence. This issue of *Michigan History* contains articles on Detroit's 250th anniversary.

"Blacksmith and Death." By David S. McIntosh. (*Midwest Folklore,* April, 1951.) A yarn that explains why Methuselah lived so long.

"Egyptian Lies." By Grace Partridge Smith. *(Midwest Folklore,* Summer, 1951.) Tall tales of southern Illinois which should provide a chuckle in these days of tension.

"The American Heritage of Hope, 1865-1940." By Boyd C. Shafer. *(Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* Dec., 1950.) A study of the American dream.

"A New Evaluation of Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark." By John D. Barnhart. *(Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* March, 1951.) A study of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton may explain some of Clark's successes.

"The Mississippi Valley and American Foreign Policy, 1890-1941: an Assessment and an Appeal." By Richard W. Leopold. *(Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* March, 1951.)

"The Pursuit and Capture of John Wilkes Booth." *(Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society,* Jan., 1951.) Telegrams and messages in the Society's William K. Bixby Manuscript Collection.

"George Barton Berrell's Piscatorial Summer of 1878." Edited by Harriet Bell Carlander and Kenneth D. Carlander. *(Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society,* July, 1951.) Good fishing in Illinois in 1878.

"Missouri's Secessionist Government, 1861-1865." By Arthur Roy Kirkpatrick. *(Missouri Historical Review,* Jan., 1951.)

"The Missouri Radicals and the Election of 1864." By William Frank Zornow. *(Missouri Historical Review,* July, 1951.)

"Politics in the Midwest." By Walter Johnson. *(Nebraska History,* March, 1951.) The rise and decline of liberalism in the Midwest, and the liberal shift from rural to urban areas.

"Charles G. Dawes and the Nebraska Freight Rate Fight." By John E. Pixton. *(Nebraska History,* Sept., 1951.) Charles G. Dawes, in 1887 a Nebraska attorney of liberal convictions, leads the fight for fair freight rates.

"Senator Baker of Oregon." By Grant Conway. *(Oregon Historical Quarterly,* June, 1951.) A sketch of Edward D. Baker, one of Lincoln's closest friends.

"The Pioneers." (*The Palimpsest,* Jan., 1951.) Articles by several authors on different phases of pioneer life.

"Isaac P. Walker: Reformer in Mid-Century Politics." By Merle Curti. *(Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Autumn, 1950.) Walker lived in Danville for a time, and in 1838 was in the Illinois legislature.

"Grandma's House." By Anna Kellman Whitchurch. *(Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Winter, 1950.) Delightful reminiscences of grandma's house and of grandma and grandpa.

"Changing Perspectives in Local History." By Richard H. Shryock. *(Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Spring, 1951.) A scholarly history of the writing of local history.

NEWS AND COMMENT

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library and a director of the Illinois State Historical Society, was elected president of the latter organization at its fifty-second annual meeting held in Bloomington on October 26 and 27.

Preceding his election by the directors the membership had voted to increase the annual individual dues of the Society from $2.00 to $3.00 and to increase the group rate from $1.00 to $1.50, beginning with 1952 dues. Also it was decided to hold the 1952 Spring Tour of the Society at Freeport on May 23 and 24.

At the business meeting the membership elected the following directors: Philip Becker, Jr., Peoria, for the term expiring in 1952, and Ralph E. Francis, Kankakee, for the 1953 term, both to fill vacancies; and for the 1954 term: J. Ward Barnes, Eldorado; Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., Urbana; Ray A. Billington, Evanston; Oscar C. Hayward, Winnetka; and the Rev. M. L. Sullins, Cropsey.

In addition to President McClelland, the directors elected two vice-presidents—James T. Hickey, Elkhart, and O. Fritiof Ander, Rock Island—and re-elected three others, Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, Alton; C. C. Tisler, Ottawa; and Glenn H. Seymour, Charleston; and Secretary-Treasurer Harry E. Pratt, Springfield.

The directors also approved two resolutions. The first was an expression of their sense of loss at the passing of Vice-President D. F. Nickols (see page 373):

Mr. D. F. Nickols, Vice-President of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1950-1951, faithful attendant at meetings of the board and sage adviser therein, will be fondly remembered by his associate officers and directors. His

devotion to the cause of local history and the rapid growth and fine program of the Logan County Historical Society and its affiliation with the State Society were especially noteworthy. We mourn because of his departure, at the close of a long and distinguished career devoted to education in Logan County, and we wish to express our deepest sympathy with his family in their bereavement.

The second concerned the Owen Lovejoy home at Princeton:

Be it resolved that the Illinois State Historical Society use its influence speedily and as effectively as possible toward the preservation of the historic Lovejoy Underground Station situated at Princeton, Illinois; and be it further resolved that during this annual meeting the president of this Society appoint a committee to investigate and adopt ways and means of accomplishing this preservation.

For this fifty-second annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, Wayne C. Townley, president of the host organization, the McLean County Historical Society, and a past president of the State Society, and his local arrangements committee scheduled the usual full and interesting program.

Registration at the Illinois Hotel began at 9 A. M. Friday, and by the time the morning session began, an hour later, about seventy-five had assembled. Ernest E. East, Springfield, past president of the State Society, presided at this meeting and William B. Brigham, past president of the McLean County Society, spoke on "The Arrowsmith Battlefield"—about twenty-two miles east of Bloomington, where the French defeated the Fox Indians in 1730. (See also p. 376.)

Joseph H. Barnhart, Danville, a director of the State Society, presided at the opening luncheon meeting. Following the invocation by Dr. Merrill J. Holmes, president of Illinois Wesleyan University, the guests were welcomed to Bloomington by Chairman Townley, and President Elmer E. Abrahamson responded on behalf of the State Society. The address was by C. C. Burford, Urbana, on "Rise and Fall of Railroad Local Passenger Service." The business meeting in the afternoon preceded a tea at the home of Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer, first woman member of the Illinois State Senate and the daughter of Governor Joseph W. Fifer.

Dr. McClelland was the speaker of the evening at the annual dinner Friday, which was attended by about 125 members and their friends. President Abrahamson presided, but Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, who had been scheduled to make a few remarks, was unable to attend. The subject of Dr. McClelland's talk was "The Education of Females in Illinois."

Saturday morning was devoted to a field tour of the Funk Hybrid Seed Company under the guidance of Eugene Funk, Jr. The agricultural theme

was carried over into the luncheon meeting when Dr. W. R. McConnell, professor of geography at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, spoke on "The Corn Belt—Its Significance in Our Political and Economic Life." C. C. Tisler, Ottawa, Vice-President of the State Society, presided at this final meeting. Rainy weather reduced the attendance on Saturday and about eliminated acceptance of Illinois Wesleyan University's invitation to its football game with Illinois College—which, incidentally, Wesleyan won 27-19.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE STORYTELLER"

The original of the wood carving, "Abraham Lincoln, the Storyteller," pictured on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* is a permanent exhibit in the Horner Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library. It was made by Carl Hallsthammar for the Federal Arts Project of Illinois to commemorate the 1936 Illinois State Fair and was later allocated to the Library. The photograph of the carved figures was made by the Herbert Georg Studio, Springfield.

Carl Hallsthammar was born in Westeras, Sweden, in 1897, and was a pupil of the famous Swedish sculptor, Anders Zorn. He is now an American citizen and lives in Park Ridge, Illinois. For some years he directed the Hallsthammar Academy of Wood Sculpture, in Chicago. He has exhibited in nearly all the major American museums, and his work has been shown at the Art Institute of Chicago a number of times. He has won twelve prizes in the United States and five in Sweden.

"JUNIOR HISTORIAN" BEGINS FIFTH YEAR

With the October issue the *Illinois Junior Historian* began its fifth year of publication—with the largest number of readers in its brief lifetime. It is one of seven such magazines published by the state historical societies and associations of Texas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, and Illinois. The oldest of these is the *Texas Junior Historian* which first appeared in 1941. Although these magazines differ in size, general appearance, and content, a distinguishing feature of each is the degree of student participation. In Texas and Illinois the entire magazine is written and illustrated by the Junior Historians themselves. However, in Texas these Junior Historians are in high school while in Illinois most of them are in junior high school.

In Illinois the Junior Historian program, sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society, began in Rock Island under the guidance of John H. Hauberg, past president of the Society, and Dr. O. F. Ander, professor of history at Augustana College. The original Illinois Junior Historians, twenty

in number, were from Central Junior High School in Rock Island. They met during the summer of 1947 at the home of Mr. Hauberg to read, study, and write about the local history of their area. Soon there were Junior Historians in most of the schools of the Rock Island-Moline district. Their stories were published in the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine, created as the outlet for student exploration into local history. Two years later, the Alton public schools joined the program, and the circulation of the *Illinois Junior Historian* was increased by some 1,300 subscriptions. Soon students from Jacksonville, Joliet, Freeport, Decatur, and Chicago became contributors to the magazine. During the 1951-1952 school year, more than 3,600 copies of this magazine will be sent to schools and libraries in 175 communities of Illinois each month.

In this, the fifth year, the guiding principle of the project is unchanged. It is to encourage boys and girls to write articles, draw illustrations, and make photographs which will help them learn more about the history of Illinois. The student is the center of the activity, and the *Illinois Junior Historian* is focused upon him. To become a contributor is a challenge to most of the boys and girls who read the magazine. They often gain recognition in the local newspaper when their articles are reprinted from the *Junior Historian.* Each student hopes that he will be one of the lucky members who will be invited in May to Springfield, to meet Governor Adlai Stevenson who presents each award winner a certificate of merit for work well done. Last May, thirty-six students from eleven cities and towns, accompanied by fellow students, parents, and teachers, were accorded this honor.

The mechanics of the project are relatively simple. The student's subscription to the magazine entitles him to membership in the *Illinois Junior Historian* program. The stories, drawings and photographs that grow out of classroom and club activity are given to the teacher or club sponsor, who selects those which are best suited for publication. These are sent each month to the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield. The editors of the *Illinois Junior Historian* prepare them for publication. The manuscript copy is printed, bound in a bright cover, and the completed magazine is then sent to the subscribers—the students and teachers who made it possible.

As the *Illinois Junior Historian* embarks upon its fifth year of publication, the Illinois State Historical Society hopes that still more students and teachers will participate in its activities. It is felt that this approach to the study of history is educationally sound. Since these Junior Historians of today will be the senior historians of tomorrow, adults are encouraged to read the *Illinois Junior Historian* not only for enjoyment, but to learn more about the activities of those who will add to the heritage that is cherished so deeply today.

INFORMATION PLEASE

Indian Villages of the Illinois Country (Part II, Vol. II, *Scientific Papers)* is off to a good start under the able direction of J. Joe Bauxar, Ethnohistorian, University of Chicago and the Illinois State Museum. Part I, *Atlas,* compiled by Sara Jones Tucker, was published in 1942.

The plan for Part II is to include the names of all Indian villages known to have been occupied from the first European exploration of the area, until the Indians left Illinois in 1833. Mr. Bauxar will appreciate it if anyone having knowledge of Indian village sites in the state, which were occupied in colonial, territorial, or early state periods will send the information to the Museum at Springfield. If possible the following points should be covered: 1. Source of knowledge (county histories, early settlers' letters, personal communication by old settlers, tradition, finding of historic European trade articles, etc.). 2. Location of site. 3. Name and address of the present owner of site. 4. Name of Indian tribe or band. 5. Approximate time of occupation. 6. Name and address of owner of collections from the site containing European trade articles and Indian-made objects. 7. Other information relative to the site.

Letters may be directed to J. Joe Bauxar, or the Museum Director, Illinois State Museum, Springfield.

POPULATION CENTER OF THE NATION

The population center of the United States is now in Illinois—in a drainage ditch on the farm of Carl Dayman Snider, nine miles north of Olney and near Dundas, in Richland County. To commemorate the occasion of the center's moving to Illinois for the first time, state and national officials participated in a marker-dedicating celebration, attended by some 25,000 spectators, at Olney, on October 18. Governor Adlai E. Stevenson and Senator Paul H. Douglas made brief talks, while the principal address was delivered by Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer.

The population center is the theoretical center of gravity at which, if the country were a plane and everyone weighed the same, the population would balance. Since the first census of 1790 government statisticians have been computing this point which has been moving steadily westward near the thirty-ninth parallel at a rate of about four miles a year. It had been in Indiana since the census of 1890.

HISTORICAL MARKER AT BRIMFIELD CHURCH

Ceremonies were held on Sunday, October 14, to dedicate a historical marker at Zion Protestant Episcopal Church, at Brimfield, about eighteen miles

northwest of Peoria. The bronze plaque, on the west wall of the old limestone building, was unveiled by Dr. Harry E. Pratt, State Historian. The text on the marker reads: "Zion Protestant Episcopal Church Founded by the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, First Bishop of Illinois, 1845. Restored and Rededicated by the Rt. Rev. William L. Essex, Bishop of Quincy, Nov. 4, 1945. Erected by the Illinois State Historical Society, 1951." Bishop Essex directed the ceremonies, and the Rt. Rev. Robert Nelson Spencer, former Bishop of West Missouri, delivered the dedicatory address. The restoration was made possible principally by the efforts and contributions of Godfrey G. Luthy, of nearby Oak Hill. The present vicar of Zion Church is the Rev. George B. Armstrong.

EDGAR LEE MASTERS COLLECTION

A collection of sixty-one letters from Edgar Lee Masters to Edwin Reese has been acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. Masters and Reese were lifelong friends and classmates at the Lewistown, Illinois, High School. In addition to the letters, which were written between 1924 and 1927, the collection contains nineteen poems and twenty miscellaneous manuscripts. Some of the poems have never been published.

BUST OF LINCOLN GIVEN TO LIBRARY

The Illinois State Historical Library recently received a bust of Abraham Lincoln carved out of solid walnut. The highly polished figure was the work of Thomas William Anderson who carved it about forty years ago. The profile bust is a copy of the beardless head of Lincoln by Leonard Volk. Mr. Anderson died on September 13, 1950, at Alton, Illinois, at the age of eighty-one. In accordance with her husband's wishes, Mrs. Anderson presented the carving to the Historical Library.

NEW SALEM DRAMA TO REOPEN NEXT JUNE

"Forever This Land," the drama of pioneer Illinois that delighted thousands this past summer, will open its second season in June, 1952. The successful venture, sponsored by the New Salem Lincoln League, was under the chairmanship of Miss Mary Schirding. During the past summer's season the play enjoyed a steadily increasing popularity, and in its last two weeks "Forever This Land" drew almost capacity audiences nightly. The Kelso Hollow amphitheater seats slightly more than 3,000. A few copies of the first season's souvenir program can still be obtained from Edward S. Mitchell, of Petersburg, Illinois, president of the League. This program contains a fine, brief history of the village and biographical sketches of its leaders by Fern Nance Pond, New Salem Historian. The price is fifty cents.

OLD GRIST MILL GRINDS AGAIN

The old Graue Mill in Du Page County has been restored and now grinds corn meal which is sold on the premises in two-pound bags. This old grist mill, started by Frederick Graue, served the farmers for miles around from 1852 to 1918. At first water power was used but later a steam plant turned the machinery.

The millstones came from France. In fact the entire grinding unit of the restored mill—hopper, casing, grinding wheels, etc.—is the original

AT THE GRAUE MILL SLUICE GATE CONTROLS

Arthur Kingman, retired businessman and part-time miller, turns the big wheel that regulates the flow of water through the old grist mill. Behind him is the hopper into which the shelled corn is poured. The hopper feeds the grain through an opening in the center of the top grinding stone and into a space between the stones where it is ground. The two stones are encased in the wooden housing just below the hopper.

equipment. Graue Mill is a quarter of a mile north of the intersection of U. S. Route 34 and York Road. A small entrance fee is charged to see this century-old mill in operation, either by water power from Salt Creek or by a supplemental electric motor. In another part of the building, historical and agricultural museum pieces are displayed.

NEW FOLKLORE MAGAZINE

The Illinois Folklore Society has now joined other regional groups in using *Midwest Folklore* as a medium of publication. Membership in the Illinois society includes a year's subscription to *Midwest Folklore,* an attractive quarterly that should delight all folklore enthusiasts. Volume 1, no. 1, of this new periodical appeared in April, 1951. It is published by Indiana University at Bloomington, Indiana. The Illinois Folklore Society welcomes both memberships and contributions to the magazine. For further information, write to Mrs. Grace Partridge Smith, president of the society, 413 West Monroe Street, Carbondale, Illinois.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY VICE-PRESIDENT DIES

D. F. Nickols, educator, historian, and author, died suddenly of a heart attack on September 25, in Lincoln, Illinois. Mr. Nickols had been a lifelong student of Abraham Lincoln, and was coauthor with Kunigunde Duncan of *Mentor Graham, the Man Who Taught Lincoln.* His interest in the Martyr President and Logan County led him to found the Logan County Historical Society of which he was president. Mr. Nickols was elected a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society in 1950.

D. F. Nickols was born in Kansas on January 2, 1880, but spent most of his life in Logan County. He began his teaching career in a rural school and was superintendent of schools in Mt. Pulaski prior to becoming superintendent for the county in 1905. In 1916 he resigned and served as secretary of the Illinois Teachers' Pension Fund until 1919, when he became superintendent of Lincoln schools. He resigned this position in 1942 to give full time to management of the Illinois Pupils' Reading Circle, which he continued to do until the time of his death.

Dayton W. Canaday, author of "Voice of the Volunteer of 1847" in the Autumn *Journal,* reports that he was in error when he said that the copies of *The Picket Guard,* on which his article was based, were given to the Historical Library by William Osman, the grandson of the man who published this Mexican War camp paper. Actually they were received from William

Osman, the son of the publisher. This was, perhaps, a reasonable mistake since the newspaper and printing experience of the two William Osmans, father and son, covered more than a century in Ottawa, Illinois. The father was a newspaper editor from 1840 until his death in 1909. The son retired from editorial work in 1927 but continued as a proofreader for an Ottawa printing firm until 1949, when he died.

Jens Jensen, landscape architect, died on October 1, 1951, at his home in Ellison Bay, Wisconsin. He was ninety-one years old. Mr. Jensen was often referred to as the father of the Chicago Park system. He also landscaped many famous estates and designed the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden at Lake Springfield. He was born in Denmark but came to the United States in 1884.

The Lincoln marker at Tolono has been moved to a site opposite the town's Union Station. When U. S. 45 was routed under the Wabash railroad tracks, the old location became obsolete. At Tolono, Lincoln gave a brief address en route to Washington in 1861.

Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., who was chairman of the committee which arranged the Illinois State Historical Society's 1951 spring meeting at Champaign-Urbana, has been promoted from associate professor to professor of history at the University of Illinois.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Alton Area Historical Society met in September at the home of Mrs. Alice D. Condit, in Elsah. Dr. Edwin S. Leonard, Jr., of the Principia College faculty gave a historical sketch of Elsah.

One of the most successful and best attended of the Aurora Historical Society's "Old Settlers' Reunions" was held in Phillips Park, Aurora, on August 22. Mrs. Frank Watson (the former Blanche Gillette) was singled out for special honors. She was born in Aurora in 1871, and has served her home town faithfully for over half a century.

The Boone County Historical Society has placed a marker in Belvidere to indicate the site of the old American House, said to have been the finest

inn on the Chicago-Galena stage coach line. The marker is at 214 North State Street. Fred Marean, first president of the Society, was chairman of the marker dedication ceremonies on July 22.

Numerous exhibits have been shown at the Chicago Historical Society in recent months. One consisted of charcoal drawings of Chicago's stockyards by Joseph Pennell. An exhibit called "American Musicana" contained autographed manuscripts of a number of well-known songs: "America the Beautiful," "Home Sweet Home," and "Dixie." In November, the Society held a "My Favorite Heirloom" exhibit. Many distinguished families in Chicago lent their favorite heirlooms for the display.

The Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association (Chicago) held its sixteenth annual meeting on October 12 in Hild Regional Library. Mrs. Marion E. Gridley spoke on "Indian Legends of American Scenes." Mrs. Gridley is the author of many books and articles on Indian subjects. Among the exhibits for the evening were Indian flints, arrowheads, implements, pipes, etc., from the collection of Philip Schupp, and William Reimer's photographs of Chicago churches. Mr. Reimer has photographed over 300 churches in Chicago and suburbs. In this exhibit Mr. Reimer showed only photographs of churches on the North Side.

Officers of the Society are: Dr. H. K. Scatliff, president; Mrs. John Halversen, first vice-president; Philip Schupp, second vice-president; William S. Crosby, third vice-president; Jessie E. Reed, honorary president; and Helen Zatterberg, secretary-treasurer.

The Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) met on October 12, in the Woodlawn Regional Library. The highlight of the program was a movie, "Many Voices," sponsored by the Illinois Bell Telephone Company, which showed fifty years of the telephone. Mrs. Netta B. Goss is president of the group.

Pictures in color of the Illinois Ozarks were shown at the August meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. They had been made by E. L. Dukes, who went on the twenty-first annual tour of the Ozarks.

John W. Allen was the principal speaker in September. His topic was, "The Importance of Dioramas." Dioramas are valuable, he said, not only for

recapturing old-time scenes but also for preserving present-day buildings and costumes for future generations.

Officers of the Society, elected in September, are: Mrs. Ethel S. Elliott, president; L. R. Pitzer, vice-president; Mrs. Edna Oakley, recording secretary; Alice Bradshaw, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Laura Blood Killough, treasurer.

The Edwardsville chapter of the Madison County Historical Society met on September 24, in the Edwardsville City Hall. Mrs. Eugene W. Schmidt spoke on the subject, "The Study of the Illinois State Map, Marking the Historical Spots of Illinois." Each member was given a map of the state.

A ship's log and sextant used on the Great Lakes in the 1870's have been given to the Evanston Historical Society by Hazel D. Maxwell of Chicago. Miss Maxwell's grandfather, Captain Robert Kyle used the instruments during his career as skipper between Chicago and Buffalo.

Officers of the Kankakee County Historical Society are: Ralph E. Francis, president; Len H. Small, vice-president; Gilbert Hertz, treasurer; and Mrs. Fannie Still, secretary and curator.

Several statues by George Grey Barnard were exhibited recently in the Kankakee Historical and Arts Building. These were from the collection of his works in the possession of the Kankakee Board of Education. Barnard attended school in Kankakee from 1870 to 1877, and in 1937 gave the city some fifty casts of his most famous works.

An obsolete "link and pin" combination has been added to the McLean County Historical Society's collection of ancient railroad devices. The link and pin were used to lock railroad cars together before the invention of the automatic coupler. In the 1890's Congress outlawed the old coupling device which had accounted for so many railroad accidents and deaths.

On the Roy Smith farm near Arrowsmith, McLean County, an engraved boulder marks the site of a French battle with the Indians in 1730. The marker reads: "Etnataek/ Here French and/ Indian Allies/ Defeated Fox Tribe/ 1730." Etnataek is an Algonquin word meaning "where fight, battle, or clubbing took place." William B. Brigham, of Bloomington, established the site of the battle.

Nauvoo held its fourteenth annual grape festival on September 7, 8 and 9, in the new Nauvoo State Park.

Oak Park had its golden jubilee celebration in August. The village was incorporated in 1901, but the community's history goes back a century and more. The Oak Park Historical Society prepared an exhibit for the occasion at the Oak Park South Branch Library. Thomas Doane is the Society's president.

Joseph D. O'Brien, of Ottawa, recently bought the historic home of Civil War General W. H. L. Wallace. The state had kept the house open as a historic shrine from 1941 until January, 1950, when it was closed because not enough persons were interested in it as a public exhibit. Mr. O'Brien purchased the place for a home, paying $14,500. The contents of the house, including many antiques and personal belongings of the Wallace-Dickey families, were placed in storage.

The Peoria Historical Society held its first meeting of the 1951-1952 season on October 15. Philip H. Horton, president, spoke on "Williamsburg" and showed colored slides of that restored colonial town in Virginia. Haskell Armstrong is program chairman.

Officers of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County are: George Irwin, president; James W. Carrott, first vice-president; Oliver B. Williams, second vice-president; William J. Dieterich, recording secretary; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; Mrs. Leaton Irwin, librarian; Augusta Buerkin, secretary; Julius Kespohl, auditor. Mrs. Edna Williams is curator of the Society's museum.

The Rock Island Historical Society took a river trip on September 7, from Davenport, Iowa, to Clinton. A chartered bus met the boat at Clinton to return the passengers to their homes in the Rock Island area.

The Saline County Historical Society met at Sand Cave, southwest of Eddyville, on August 9, for a picnic supper inside the cave. W. K. Farley, of Harrisburg, led the group to this hollow in the bluffs near Clarida Springs. Though seldom visited, the cavern is almost as large as the one at Cave-in-Rock.

Another picnic outing was held in September—this time at the Sulphur Springs church yard, nine miles southeast of Harrisburg, at the foot of Cave Hill. Following the picnic supper R. C. Davenport told of the flight he and Mrs. Davenport had made to England during the summer and of their interesting experiences there. Jonathan Truman Dorris, of Richmond, Kentucky, reminisced about Cave Hill and Richmond, Kentucky.

The Stark County Historical Society has opened to the public the Dr. Thomas Hall office building in Toulon. The building, now located just west of the Public Library, was built by Dr. Hall in 1847. It has been restored to its original appearance. Dr. Thomas Hall was a pioneer physician in Stark County who came to the area from England in 1837. He was the first physician to locate in the district between Peoria and Rock Island.

Officers of the Society, elected in September, are: W. C. Auble, president; Harry W. Walker, vice-president; Annie Lowman, secretary; and Rena Baker, treasurer.

The Stephenson County Historical Society held a "Summer Frolic" on August 8 at the Historical Society's home in Freeport. One purpose was to raise money to help maintain the home. Antiques and souvenirs were for sale. Square dancing, movies, exhibits, and refreshments were also provided. A special attraction was an exhibit of rare coins by M. H. Bolender, of Freeport, well-known numismatist. A record crowd of 500 or more attended the "frolic."

Two card parties for the benefit of the Society were held in October, and Professor Frank E. Chaffee showed a portion of his collection of precious stones.

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford recently acquired the John Erlander house at 404 South Third Street for use as a museum. Formal opening of the museum is planned for early in 1952—one of the events in Rockford's centennial celebration.

The Wilmette Historical Museum was opened to the public for the first time on September 22. Among the items in the new museum are thirty-five historical paintings donated by Wilmette artists and the Wilmette Historical Commission's photograph collection.

The Winnetka Historical Society has formally turned over to the Village a collection of pictures of presidents of the Village of Winnetka. Frank A. Windes spent many years completing the collection which includes photographs of all twenty-six presidents. He is now working on their biographical sketches. On September 29, the group took its sixth annual auto trip—destination, Galena.

Zion, Illinois, celebrated its golden jubilee in August with exhibits of pictures and relics in the city's store windows. Probably no community in the state has had a more unusual history in the short span of fifty years. The city's founder, John Alexander Dowie, was succeeded by the eccentric Wilbur Glenn Voliva, who died on October 11, 1942.

FAMILY HISTORIES

Herewith are the names of those who have presented the Illinois State Historical Library with family histories during the year ending September 30, 1951. Books of genealogy are especially welcome since many of the Library's patrons are interested in family history. Thanks are extended to:

James N. Adams, Taylorville, Illinois, for E. E. Adams, "The Ager-Booth Genealogy," "Genealogia Baconiana," "James Green and His Family," "John Chambers Adams and His Descendants" and "John Rattan and His Family."

Edwin W. Beitzell, Washington, D. C., for Beitzell, "The Beitzell Family," "The Cheseldine Family," "The John Hanson Norris Family," "The Kinney Family," "The Stanhouse Family," and "The Weser Family."

Inez M. Bowles, Gilliam, Missouri, for Bowles, *Thomas Bowles, Hanover County, Va.*

Forrest Calico, Lancaster, Kentucky, for Calico, *History of Garrard County, Kentucky and Its Churches.*

Ferris B. Crum, Oak Park, Illinois, for Crum, *The Crum Family in America.*

Mrs. W. H. DeBusk, General Chairman, Illinois Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, for MacDonald, "Certified Papers Pertaining to Caroline Louise MacDonald, La Grange Chapter, D. A. R."

Mrs. R. Taylor Drake, Moline, Illinois, for D. A. R., Illinois, Mary Little Deere Chapter, Moline, "Genealogical Records, Volume II . . . Port Byron, Illinois Records."

Mrs. Bertha Ann Fleming, Williamsport, Indiana, for Brenner, *Brenner—James Genealogy.*

George L. Gilkey, Merrill, Wisconsin, for Gilkey, *The Gilkeys.*

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